A CONCISE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# *SPANISH AMERICA*;

CONTAINING

A ſuccinct Relation of the Diſcovery and Settlement of its ſeveral Colonies: A circumſtantial Detail of their reſpective Situation, Extent, Commodities, Trade, *&c.* And a full and clear Account of the Commerce with *Old Spain* by the Galleons, Flota, *&c.* As alſo of the Contraband Trade with the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *French*, *Danes*, and *Portugueze*.

Together with

An APPENDIX,

In which is comprehended an exact Deſcription of *Paraguay*.

*Collected chiefly from* Spaniſh WRITERS.

*LONDON:*

Printed for JOHN STAGG in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and DANIEL BROWNE at the *Black Swan* without *Temple-Bar*. MDCCXLI.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

To the Honourable

# *Thomas Winnington* Eſq;

Cofferer to His Majeſty's Houſehold, Recorder of *Worceſter*, and Repreſentative in Parliament for that City.

*SIR,*

IN writing this little WORK all imaginable Care has been taken to avoid flattering any Party, and to offend none. It was proper therefore to purſue the ſame Plan in this Dedication, which encouraged me to addreſs it to You in whom all Parties delight.

If

# DEDICATION.

If Cenſure be that Tax, to which none but the Eminent are liable, Praiſe is a Tribute which can only be claimed by them; and as it is Sacrilege to proſtitute it to the Undeſerving, it is not leſs impious to refuſe it to the moſt worthy of Mankind.

All the Virtues which render a Man amiable in private Life joined to Eloquence, Publick Spirit and Heroick Reſolution, the moſt ſhining Qualities which can adorn a publick Station are ſo confeſſedly in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. *Winnington*, that I look upon myſelf to be as ſecure from the Suſpicion of Flattery in this Addreſs, as I am conſcious it is remote from my Intention.

*I am, SIR,*

*Your moſt obedient, and*

*moſt devoted humble Servant.*

# THE PREFACE.

*THAT Deſire which the Publick diſcovers of being thoroughly acquainted with the paſt and preſent Situation of the* Spaniſh Weſt Indies *firſt inſpired the Author with an Ambition of undertaking this Work. His Aim was to draw within a narrow Compaſs whatever might contribute to give a tolerable View of the Hiſtory, preſent State, and Nature of the Commerce of the* Spaniſh America. *In order to make theſe Things the plainer, he thought it neceſſary to treat of them ſeparately, having obſerved that moſt of the Books he conſulted on this Occaſion, were not a little confuſed, through the continual blending of theſe Subjects, and in Conſequence thereof frequent Repetitions,*

*Repetitions, which ſerve only to diſtract and diſguſt the Peruſer.*

*His Deſign in giving the Hiſtory of the Diſcovery and Conqueſts of his Catholick Majeſty's* American *Dominions, was to ſhew the fatal Conſequences of wrong Steps taken at the Beginning; for, whoever peruſes the following Pages, will ſee that the Errors into which the* Spaniards *fell, when they firſt came into the new World, have never been amended, but, on the contrary, ſpread to ſuch a Degree as to produce thoſe Evils of which the Court of* Spain *are much more ſenſible than capable of affording them any Remedy. A Thing which could never have been thoroughly underſtood, but for this neceſſary Introduction, which ſets it and its Cauſes in the cleareſt Light.*

*If ever the* Spaniſh *Miniſtry ſhould be prevailed upon to take ſuch Meaſures, as by degrees might contribute to put their Affairs to rights, they muſt be compelled to it by the Diſaſters of an unſucceſsful War, which would not only point out the true Method of correcting whatever is amiſs in the* Indies, *but alſo afford an Opportunity of entering on the neceſſary Regulations, effectually, and without Loſs of Time. In ſuch a Caſe, the Affairs of* Spain *would ſoon wear a new Face, the Credit of the Crown, and the Happineſs*

*pineſs of the People, would be reſtored together.*

*This, inſtead of turning to our Prejudice, muſt neceſſarily prove our greateſt Advantage, ſince, of all the Nations in* Europe, *we are moſt capable of doing them either Good or Hurt. As an Ally, we are more concerned than any other to protect and to promote their Intereſts, becauſe they never can interfere with ours; and in reſpect to Commerce, we can ſupply their Wants cheaper and more effectually than any other Nation, and alſo take more of their Goods in Return. On the other hand, if at Variance, we can at any Time defeat all their Projects in* Europe, *and in a great meaſure cut off their Intercourſe with* America.

*We may eaſily diſcern, that the Influence of* French *Councils can never turn to the Advantage of* Spain, *or make her at all formidable to us. Whatever contributes to the rendering* Spain *uſeful to* France, *muſt alſo contribute to weaken and diſtreſs her. For, as Intrigue and Negotiation ſerve the Purpoſes of the* French, *ſo they never can ſerve thoſe of the* Spaniards. *Oeconomy at home, and Peace abroad, are what they ſtand in need of, in order to reſtore, I may ſay to preſerve, their Monarchy. In Times of Proſperity they may be, as moſt Nations are, inſolent*

*lent and obſtinate; but, as Things ſtand now, it cannot be long before the wiſe Heads in that Nation (and ſure there are ſtill ſome ſuch) muſt diſcern the Neceſſity of acting for their own Advantage, and of no longer ſacrificing all that is dear and valuable to Mankind, to promote the Views of a deſigning Neighbour, or to flatter the Ambition of an* Italian *Princeſs.*

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MUSEUM

A CONCISE

# HISTORY

OF

# *SPANISH AMERICA.*

## CHAP. I.

### *Of the Accidents conducing to the Diſcovery of the New World.*

IT is a Point in which Divines, Philoſophers, and Politicians, unanimouſly agree, that Sciences have their Seaſons, or in other Words, that Arts of the greateſt Conſequence to Mankind, have, by a Concurrence of happy Circumſtances been quickly brought to Perfection in one Age, though little Progreſs had been made in them in others. So

that the general Fund of Knowledge poſſeſſed by Mankind increaſes irregularly as well in point of Time as Place. For as Science at firſt travelled from the Eaſt, ſo in the Courſe of Ages, it became a great Point of Knowledge to find the Way thither again; and, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, a Deſire of finding a new Rout to the *Eaſt Indies*, firſt diſcovered to us the *Weſt*.

In the fifteenth Century many ingenious Men, and ſome great Princes applied themſelves to the Improvement and Encouragement of Navigation, which had for ſome Ages before been too little eſteemed, and left, generally ſpeaking, to Men of mean Education, and barbarous Diſpoſitions. The Diſcovery of the *Canaries*, or rather the retrieving them, for they were known to the Ancients, and ſome Voyages had been made to them in the thirteenth Century; but they were unaccountably loſt again; and therefore I ſay the Diſcovery of them in 1417, by *John de Bethencourt*, a Gentleman of *Normandy*, in Virtue however of a *Spaniſh* Commiſſion, was one of the firſt Fruits of that laudable Spirit of incouraging the uſeful and noble Art of Navigation, which began now to diſcover itſelf in various Parts of the World.

The *Canaries* are ſeven Iſlands lying from Eaſt to Weſt, pretty near the Coaſt of *Africa*, and are the ſame which were heretofore ſtyled *the Fortunate Iſlands*. When I ſay ſeven,

ſeven, I mean that there are ſeven of principal Note; for, beſides theſe, there are ſeveral leſſer Iſlands which yet have their Commodities, and would be valuable in the Hands of any other Poſſeſſors than the *Spaniards*. The Noiſe of *Bethencourt*'s Settlement concurring with the active Temper of the Infant Don *Henry*, fourth Son to the then reigning King of *Portugal*, occaſioned various Expeditions under his Auſpice, in conſequence of which the Iſlands of *Madeira* and *Porto Santo* were diſcovered and ſettled by the *Portugueſe*. The next Step was the Diſcovery of the *Azores*, or as the *Spaniards* call them, *Açores*. Some *Flemings* had left a Colony there in 1447, but *Gonçalvo Velho* ſailing from *Portugal* in 1449, ſeized upon them, and ſecured them for that Crown, to which they have belonged ever ſince.

The vaſt Advantages alſo which the *Portugueſe* derived from their Commerce with the *Eaſt Indies*, the Rout to which by the *Cape of Good Hope* was likewiſe very lately diſcovered, occaſioned much Diſcourſe in the World, and put many quick Wits, and enterpriſing Seamen, on aiming at a farther Proſecution of ſuch profitable Adventures. The Uſe of the Compaſs, which it is ſaid was invented by *John Goias*, a Native of the little City of *Malfi*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, was now thoroughly underſtood, and Mariners were no longer afraid of ſteering without

Sight of Land. By this Means they gave a greater Opportunity to the Winds and the Waves to facilitate their Views by carrying them at times out of their intended Courſes, and thereby affording them Occaſions of making Remarks, which otherwiſe they had never met with. Thus for Inſtance, a *Spaniſh* Pilot ſteering for a Port in the Weſt of *Ireland*, was by a violent Tempeſt driven out to Sea fourteen Days, during which Time he ſaw, or fancied he ſaw, but at a great Diſtance, certain Iſlands, which have been ſince ſuppoſed part of *America*.

Two Sorts of Indications chiefly ſupported the Notion which then paſſed current among the wiſer Navigators, *viz.* That there was yet a conſiderable Part of the Univerſe undiſcovered. Theſe Indications were firſt poſitive Aſſertions found in the Works of the Ancients; and ſecondly, Fables or Romantic Stories which ſeemed to be raiſed however on a Ground of Truth.

As to the firſt, we will ſpeak of them briefly, becauſe little has been ſaid, worthy of Notice at leaſt in our Language. *Plato*, in two of his Dialogues, mentions the Iſland of *Atlantis*; and there is yet extant a Deſcription of it in *Greek* Verſe, aſcribed to *Solon*, on whoſe Credit, indeed, the whole Story depends, which runs in few Words thus: That great and good Man travelling into *Egypt* to improve his Knowledge, met there with a Prieſt,

Prieſt, who entertained him with a Tradition of this ſame Iſland, which ſeems to be either an Allegory or a Fable. However, the Curious may read and conſider it, if they think fit, in the Works of this celebrated Author. The next Authority is taken from a Book generally attributed to *Ariſtotle*,, wherein it is alledged, that the *Carthaginians* diſcovered beyond the Streights of *Gibraltar* a certain Iſland, large in Extent, fertile in its Soil, and full of navigable Rivers at the Diſtance of ſome Days Sail from the Continent; but it ſeems it was uninhabited. The firſt Diſcoverers fixed there; but the *Carthaginians*, by an odd Stroke of Policy, forbad any of their Subjects to ſettle there for the future, and diſlodged thoſe who were already planted therein. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a far more accurate and probable Account of this Matter, deſcribing at large this celebrated Iſle, and then ſhewing why it remained uninhabited. He ſays the *Tyrians* would have planted a Colony there, but that the *Carthaginians* oppoſed it for two Reaſons, firſt, becauſe they were afraid too many of their Citizens would incline to tranſport themſelves into this Iſland, which might be prejudicial to their Affairs as a trading People; ſecondly, becauſe they deſired to reſerve this Iſland as an Aſylum, to which they might at any time retreat, if oppreſſed by intolerable Misfortunes. Many have inclined to think this Iſle the biggeſt of

the *Canaries*, which I confeſs ſeems to me improbable for many Reaſons; but particularly, becauſe all the *Canaries* are but indifferently provided with Water, whereas in this our Author expreſsly ſays there were ſeveral navigable Rivers. There is a Paſſage in *Seneca* the Tragedian, which is much to our Purpoſe, though it is rather a Prophecy than a Deſcription. It is very ſhort, and therefore I will give it in the Author's own Words:

——*Venient Annis*
*Sæcula ſeris, quibus Oceanus*
*Vincula Rerum laxet, & ingens*
*Pateat tellus, Typhiſque novos*
*Detegat Orbes; nec ſit terris*
*Ultima Thule.*

Media, Act. iii. ℣ 375.

A Time ſhall come, tho' it be late,
When the proud Ocean ſhall abate
Of its vaſt Empire; Men deſcry
New Iſles, new Countries where they lie;
Nor ſhall bleak *Thule* longer ſtand,
To us, the laſt diſcovered Land.

There is yet another Paſſage in an Author perhaps more ancient than any of theſe, I mean *Theopompus*, a *Greek* Writer, of whoſe Works there remain now only ſome Fragments, and amongſt them this relating to a new World, wherein are two great Cities, one inhabited by Warriors, and another by Pietiſts. The whole is viſibly an Allegory, and there-

fore

fore all that we can conclude from the Sum of theſe Authorities taken together is this, that ſome of the wiſeſt of the Ancients thought there might poſſibly be a large Proportion of the World undiſcovered in their Time, and therefore made Choice of it, as a proper Scene wherein to lay Schemes of ſuch Commonwealths as exiſted only in their Fancies. In ſhort, they dreamt of a new World, and have left us ſome broken Account of theſe Dreams.

I come next to the Fables, or rather Romantic Stories which might be ſuppoſed to indicate that there was a great Part of the habitable World undiſcovered; and of theſe I ſhall mention but three, though I could eaſily have enlarged the Number. The firſt of theſe is the Expedition of *Madoc* Prince of *Wales*, who is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt Diſcoverer of *America*; he flouriſhed in the twelfth Century, and was the Son of *Owen Guyneth*, Prince of *North Wales*. His Brothers raiſing a Civil War about the Diviſion of his Father's Dominions, he choſe rather to go to Sea with a few of his Friends, and ſeek out new Habitations, than run the Hazard of what might happen in the Iſſue of this Diſpute. Accordingly about the Year 1170, ſteering due Weſt, and leaving *Ireland* on the North, he came to an unknown Country, where he ſettled a Colony, and returning thence into *Wales*, carried a ſecond Supply of People, but was never heard of more.

That the Country he went to was really *America*, is more, I think, than can be thoroughly proved; but that this Tale was invented after the Diſcovery of that Country, on purpoſe to ſet up a prior Title, is moſt certainly falſe. *Meredith ap Rheſe*, who died in 1477, and was a famous *Welſh* Poet, compoſed an Ode in Honour of this *Madoc*, wherein was contained an Account of his Diſcoveries. Now as this was ſeveral Years before *Columbus* made his firſt Voyage, we may be ſure that this was really a *Britiſh* Tradition, and no Tale of late Invention.

*William* of *Newberry* tells us a ſtrange Story of two green Children, a Boy and a Girl, which in the Time of King *Stephen* were found in a Field, and who aſſerted that they came from the Land of St. *Martin*. The Story is indeed a wild one, and but indifferently told. But notwithſtanding all this, it is a clear Proof that our Anceſtors had ſome confuſed Notions of the Poſſibility of diſcovering ſome far diſtant Continent, which is all that from hence I attempt to prove. But the cleareſt and moſt intelligible Report of another World, which preceded the Diſcovery of *America*, was the Tale of the Iſland of the ſeven Churches, which in brief was this: Certain *Portugueſe* Sailors having been driven in a ſmall Bark ſeveral Days to Sea, reported on their Return, that they had been on Shore in a certain Iſland, the Inhabitants of which were

were Chriſtians deſcended from the *Spaniards*, who flying from their Country on the firſt Invaſion of the *Moors*, had diſcovered this Iſle and planted it. Theſe *Portugueze* were compelled to put again to Sea, in order to recover the Land they talk'd of, from which Time they were never heard of; but the Story continued to be much talk'd of, and by the Vulgar believed.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Diſcovery of* America *by* Columbus, *and of a prior Title thereto, which might be claimed by the* Engliſh.

THOUGH the Opinion mentioned in the former Chapter, had paſſed current in the Mouths of Men for many Years, yet we do not find that any Perſon undertook, by probable Arguments, to prove that there really was another Continent, and that a Paſſage from this to that was practicable before the famous *Chriſtopher Columbus*, who began and perfected his Diſcovery in a very ſhort Space of Time.

This excellent Perſon was, by Birth, a *Genoeze*, but of what Family we are ignorant, though ſeveral noble Ones in *Italy*, lay Claim to him, but with what Right, his Son Don *Ferdinando* knew not how to determine; how then ſhould we? He addicted himſelf,

from

from his Youth, to the Study of Navigation, and to the Practice of it; for he went, while a Boy, to Sea, where he ſerved under an Admiral of his own Name, who was a celebrated Corſair, and afterwards ſailed in a Merchant Ships to almoſt all Parts of the known World. In all Probability, he took the firſt Hint of his Diſcovery from the common Opinion, that another World there was; but if he did, that detracts nothing from his Merit, ſince the advancing Arguments in Proof of this, and ſtriking out the Means of diſcovering it, were entirely the Effects of his own Sagacity.

To run through all the Reaſons which this great Man alledged in Support of his Judgment, would take up too much Room, it ſhall therefore ſuffice that we obſerve, that he concluded right from falſe Premiſes, and by the Happineſs of his Genius, ſtruck out this important Truth from a Suppoſition which was abſolutely falſe. Having long conſidered the Form of this Terraqueous Globe, he became at length perſuaded that the *Indies*, which the *Portugueſe* had lately diſcovered in the *Eaſt*, was no other than a great Continent, balancing thoſe Parts of the Univerſe already known; and therefore he conceived that thoſe who ſailed Eaſt, muſt come to their Weſt Coaſts; and that conſequently, by ſailing Weſt, it was as practicable to reach their Eaſtern Shores. Which

Suppo-

Suppoſition of his was the Cauſe that he called the Iſlands he diſcovered the *Weſt Indies*. He brought his Notions into Order about the Year 1480, when he propoſed going on this Diſcovery to the State of *Genoa*, which Project of his was rejected. He next offered it to the King of *Portugal*, in whoſe Dominions he had reſided ſome Years. Commiſſioners were appointed to treat with him, who, when by provoking with Objections, they had drawn out of him all they could, adviſed the King to fit out a Veſſel, and to ſend it to try if the thing was practicable, whereby they meant to rob *Columbus*, both of the Honour and Advantage reſulting from the Diſcovery. The Deſign miſcarried, through the Want of Courage and Conduct in the Perſons employed; but *Columbus* finding out the Trick, was exceedingly incenſed, ſo that though the King of *Portugal* would have treated with him a ſecond Time, being himſelf a better Judge of ſuch Projects than any other Prince of his Age, yet he declin'd it, and reſolved to apply elſewhere.

This was in 1487. In the ſame Year, having fully inſtructed his Brother, *Bartholomew*, in his intended Project, he ſent him into *England*, with Directions to apply himſelf to *Henry* VII, who was reputed one of the wiſeſt Monarchs in Chriſtendom, in Hopes that he would embrace a Propoſal manifeſtly tending to his Profit; and in the mean

mean time he prepared himſelf to go into *Spain*, on the ſame Account. *Bartholomew Columbus* was ſo unfortunate as to fall into the Hands of Pyrates, who ſtripped him of all he had. On his coming into *England* in this poor Condition, he fell ill of a Fever, and when he recovered from that, he ſpent ſome Time in making Maps, and ſelling them, before he put himſelf into ſuch an Equipage as enabled him to addreſs himſelf to the King. This however he did in 1488, was well received, and actually entered into Argument with that Prince, in the Name, and on the Behalf of his Brother, ſeveral Years before he cloſed with their Catholic Majeſties, as his Son tells us in his Life. By Virtue of this Agreement, it ſhould ſeem that our Title to the new World is prior to that of *Spain*. This is arguing in their own Way; and if they plead the actual Diſcovery of the Iſlands in bar to us, I ſhall hereafter ſhew, that we may plead the ſame thing, with Reſpect to the Continent, againſt them. But the Buſineſs is now to proſecute, in few Words, the Story of *Columbus*.

He ſollicited for ſeveral Years, and in Spight of repeated Diſappointments, their Catholic Majeſties *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. At laſt being on the very Point of departing, in order to carry his Scheme into *France*, Queen *Iſabel*, a Princeſs of great Wiſdom and Courage, ſent for him back, and agreed with him

on

on his own Terms, which were pretty round ones, and ſuch as diſcovered the Confidence he had of ſucceeding in his Deſign. He made this Agreement ſoon after the taking of the City of *Granada*, whereby the *Moors* were driven out of *Spain*, part of which they had poſſeſſed 770 Years, ſo that two of the moſt fortunate Events which ever happened to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, fell out the ſame Year.

*Columbus* was furniſhed with three Carvels, and a hundred and twenty Men at *Palos de Moguere*. *Martin Pinſon* was Pilot of one, *Francis Pinſon* of another, and *Ditus Pinſon* of the third, all three Brothers, and departed the third of *Auguſt* 1492. They came to the Iſland of *Gomera*, one of the *Canaries*, where they refreſhed: From thence he ſailed thirty-four Days Weſt without ſeeing Land, inſomuch that his Company murmured, and contrived his Death; but he ſatisfied them with good Words and Promiſes; at laſt he ſpied a thick Cloud, which proved Land, on the eleventh of *October*, whereat they all rejoyced, thanked God, and kiſſed *Columbus*'s Hands. The firſt Land they fell in with was called *Guinaya*, one of the Iſlands of *Lucaios*; from thence he went to *Hiſpaniola*, then called *Haitu*, where the Admiral's Ship was loſt, but all the Men and Furniture ſaved.

The

The *Indians* fled from them, all but one Woman, whom they took and cloathed, and uſed courteouſly, and let her go again; which did ſo much imbolden the *Indians*, that they reſorted to the *Spaniards*, and helped them to unlade their Ship that was loſt, and did them other Services; and with the Good-will of the King, they built a Caſtle of Wood, and left thirty-eight *Spaniards* in it under a Captain; and this was the firſt footing the *Spaniards* had in the *Indies*. *Columbus* took ten Parrots, ſome Turkeys, and other Things the Land afforded, and return'd to *Palos* in *Spain*, in fifty Days. The King and Queen were at *Barcelona* when *Columbus* arrived, whither he went with his *Indians*, and other Rarities, the third of *April*, a Year after he departed from thence.

At his coming to the King the *Indians* were baptized, the King, Queen, and Prince being preſent, who were their Godfathers and Godmother. They cauſed *Columbus* to ſit by them, which was never done to any Subject. They confirmed the Privilege of the Tenths, and gave him the Title of Admiral of the *Indies*; and to his Brother *Bartholomew*, that of *Adelantado*. The Queen favoured this Diſcovery more than the King, and would not for a while, let any *Arragonians* go to the *Indies* without Licence. The King rewarded many of *Columbus*'s Company; but the Mariner who firſt diſcovered the

the Land, not being recompenſed to his Content, fled into *Barbary*, where he turned *Turk*.

The *Indians* confeſſed to *Columbus*, that there were many Prophecies amongſt them, that they ſhould be ſubdued by white Men with Beards, with Apparel on their Backs, with bright Swords that ſhould cleave a Man inſunder, and ſhould girt their Swords to their Sides.

*Columbus* in his ſecond Voyage had ſeventeen Ships, and one thouſand two hundred Men, Mares, Sheep, Cows, and Corn to ſow. The firſt Land he fell in with was the Iſland of *Deſcada*; and coming to *Hiſpaniola*, he found his thirty-eight *Spaniards* ſlain, through their own Fault, for injuring the *Indians*. He built a Town, and in Honour of the Queen, called it *Iſabella*. And at this time began the *Spaniards* and *Columbus* to diſagree.

There never was perhaps a Man better qualified for the great Deſigns he undertook, than *Chriſtopher Columbus*; but the Gravity of his Behaviour, and the ſevere Diſcipline he maintained while it was in his Power, raiſed him Enemies amongſt a mutinous, licentious Crew; and theſe Diſputes occaſion'd Appeals from both Parties to *Spain*, whereupon one *Francis Bobadilla* was ſent over to enquire into theſe Matters, and to do Juſtice according to the Light in which Things

ſhould

ſhould appear to him. This Man to gratify a Biſhop who had taken ſome Pique to *Columbus*, cauſed the Admiral to be ſeized, together with his Brethren, put them in Irons, and ſent them in that Condition into *Spain*.

They arrived at *Cadiz* on the 25th of *November*, 1500; and as ſoon as their Catholic Majeſties were informed of the Treatment the Admiral had met with, they ordered him to be ſet at Liberty, expreſſing great Concern for his Sufferings, eſpecially the Queen, who was his very ſincere Friend, but it was a good while before he could procure a new Governor to be ſent to *Hiſpaniola*, which at laſt however he did. When he had carried this Point, he ſollicited Leave to make a fourth Voyage for Diſcoveries, which with much ado he obtained. It was in this his laſt going into the *Weſt Indies*, that he firſt ſaw the Continent, lying ſome time at Anchor at the *Baſtimentos*: This was in 1502. Some farther Diſcoveries he made on the ſame Coaſt; but before he could thoroughly inform himſelf of the State of the Country he was obliged to alter his Courſe, and ſteer for *Hiſpaniola*. Some time he remained there, but at length new Diſputes and Diſorders riſing, he reſolved to return back into *Spain*, in order to give their Majeſties the beſt Account he could of thoſe Parts, that this Diſcovery might be made as advantagious to them as poſſible.

It was towards the latter End of the Year 1504, that he came for the laſt Time into *Spain*, where the firſt News he met with was that of the Death of Queen *Iſabella*, which ſtruck him to the Heart, inſomuch that his Health apparently declined thenceforward. He did not, however, fail to apply himſelf to the Court, where he met with very indifferent Uſage; for though he was treated with great Reſpect, and had many fair Words given him, yet the Senſe he had of the King's Coldneſs, and of the Ingratitude of the *Spaniſh* Courtiers, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, as, after a few Months Illneſs, broke his Heart. This happened on the 20th of *May*, 1506, at *Valladolid*. As ſoon as the Court was informed of his Death, Orders were given for his being buried with the utmoſt Pomp and Splendor. But the Admiral himſelf had given ſome Directions concerning his Interment, which ſerved to perpetuate the Memory of his ill Treatment; for he ordered the Irons which he had worn to be put into his Coffin with him. His Epitaph deviſed, as ſome Hiſtorians ſay, by King *Ferdinand* himſelf, ſuited the Dignity of the Perſon, and the Service he had render'd the *Spaniſh* Nation. It conſiſts only of two Lines:

*Per* Caſtilla, *y por* Leon,
*Nuevo Mundo hallo* Colon.

*Caſtile* and *Leon* to *Columbus* owe
That *World*, his Wiſdom only could beſtow.

## CHAP. III.

*Of other Diſcoveries made in the Life-time of* Columbus, *particularly thoſe by* John Cabot.

THE Report of the many and great Advantages accruing to *Spain* from the mighty Diſcoveries made by *Columbus*, raiſed an earneſt Deſire in other great Princes, to make ſome Experiments in the ſame kind. Among the reſt, King *Henry* VII, of *England*, who, as I before obſerved, had firſt accepted the Propoſal of *Columbus*, though the Author himſelf knew not ſo much, having ſtill in his Dominions a Foreigner of a bold enterprizing Genius, and withal well verſed in Navigation, reſolved to employ him without Loſs of Time, that, if poſſible, his Subjects might ſhare in the Wealth of the new *Indies*. This Foreigner was *John Cabot*, by Birth a *Venetian*, who obtained his Letters Patent to himſelf and his three Sons, for making Diſcoveries in any Part of the World. Theſe bore date the 5th of *March*, 1496, being the eleventh Year of that King's Reign.

Immediately after obtaining theſe, he ſailed from *Briſtol*; and in the Month of *June*, 1497,

1497, diſcovered *Newfoundland*, ſailing afterwards along the Coaſt of *America* to *Florida*; and may therefore be juſtly reputed the firſt Finder of the Continent in thoſe Parts. If therefore there be any Ground of Title, as the *Spaniards* pretend, from the firſt Diſcovery, though Poſſeſſion be not taken, then have we a better Title to the main Land of *America* than they: But if ſettling and improving give a Right, then ours is full as good as theirs.

In 1498 *Americus Veſputius*, a *Florentine*, but ſailing with a *Spaniſh* Commiſſion, made ſome Diſcoveries in the *Weſt Indies*. From him *America* received its Name, though, as moſt Writers agree, very unjuſtly, ſince it is certain he was not the firſt Diſcoverer; and many have doubted whether he diſcovered any thing at all; but he was a Man of great Addreſs, and knew better how to gloſs his Actions than any who had gone before him. After this he made another Voyage in the Service of *Spain*, but on his Return he deſerted this, as before he did his Country's Service, and entered into that of the King of *Portugal*, for whom he went alſo twice into the ſame Part of the World. There is a ſtrong Spirit of Rancour apparent in moſt of our modern Writers againſt this Man, wherein perhaps they may be ſomewhat influenced by the Reports of the *Spaniſh* Writers, who very poſſibly may have ſome Pre-

judice beyond what hitherto has been ſuſpected, on Account of his leaving them to ſerve the *Portugueze*. Yet this is certain, that he cannot, with any Propriety, be ſtyled the Diſcoverer of *America*; though by his firſt publiſhing his Voyages, he found Means to give it his Name.

In 1500 *Peter Alvarez Capralis*, Admiral of a Fleet for *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, ſteering to the *Eaſt Indies*, was by a Storm carried on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, which he firſt diſcover'd, and which has ſince prov'd of ſuch infinite Benefit to his Nation. From hence one might be inclined to believe, that if *Columbus* had not gone expreſly in ſearch of the new World eight Years before, Chance, or, to ſpeak more in the Dialect of the Chriſtian, Providence would have opened a Paſſage thither now.

The *Pinçons*, and others who had accompanied the Admiral *Columbus* in his Voyages, did alſo make ſome Diſcoveries at their own Expence, by Virtue of Commiſſions given them by King *Ferdinand*. But two Cauſes eſpecially hindered the Progreſs that might otherwiſe have been expected from the Diligence of the *Spaniards* in theſe Parts. The firſt was the Avarice of the *Spaniſh* Government, which meaſuring the Capacity and Worth of Adventures, barely by the Returns of Wealth they ſent into *Spain*, they were thereby led to act ſo rapaciouſly, as frequently

to

to hazard, for the Sake of a little Gold, the Poſſeſſion of whole Countries full of Commodities of great Value. Secondly, The Diſtance they were at from *Spain*, and the Neceſſity there was of truſting ſeveral Commanders with independant Commiſſions, occaſioned not only numberleſs Mutinies, but inſpired the *Spaniſh* Officers with ſuch a Spirit of Cruelty againſt the native *Indians*, as tended to the depopulating of thoſe Countries, and thereby rendering them far leſs beneficial than otherwiſe they would have been.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Of the principal Diſcoveries made by the* Spaniards, *after the Death of* Columbus.

THE main Cauſe which retarded thoſe Diſcoveries which might otherwiſe have been made in the new World, was the Temper of King *Ferdinand*. He valued himſelf extremely on his political Knowledge, which inclined him to ſhew a great deal of Reſpect, but at the ſame time to give very little Encouragement to *Columbus*. He was jealous of the Authority which that great Man had obtained in Virtue of the Agreement made with him, when he firſt ſailed in ſearch of the *Indies*, and this ſeems to be the true Reaſon why he rather thwarted than encouraged the Admiral's making any farther

Diſcoveries in the latter Part of his Life. This appears more probable from the King's Conduct after his Deceaſe; for he then readily granted Commiſſions for new Diſcoveries, and treated all ſuch as made them very favourably.

The only Part of the Continent, which *Columbus* ever ſaw, was the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*; and he died in a full Perſwaſion that this was the ſame Continent with the *Eaſt Indies*. The Natives helped to confirm him in his Miſtake, by their Reports; for whatever Queſtions he aſked, they anſwered in the affirmative, from a fooliſh Deſire of flattering their new Maſters. But when the Admiral was once dead, nobody pretended to make Diſcoveries, by Rule or Reaſon, but by Chance, and as Reports led them; and this though it ſometimes had happy Conſequences, yet it frequently drew them into vaſt Inconveniencies; for not knowing how to proportion their Forces to the Exploits upon which they went, the *Spaniſh* Captains very frequently loſt the greateſt Part of their Men by War and Sickneſs, and inſtead of inriching, brought themſelves to ruin.

Some Adventurers ſettled themſelves in *Darien*; and amongſt them there was one *Baſco Nunez de Balboa*, a Man only conſiderable for his great Parts and high Spirit; for as to his Fortune, it was intirely waſted, by having been engaged in a former Deſign

of

of diſcovering, which came to nothing. Thoſe with whom he was now embarked, were alſo brought to the Brink of Ruin, when by his Advice they were ſaved, and by repeated Acts of Courage and Conduct, brought into a proſperous Condition. The Perſon who had the King's Authority was very unfit for the Employment he enjoyed. The People ſaw this, and that *Nunez* was much more capable of commanding. Their Wiſhes concurring with his Ambition, he aſſumed the ſupreme Authority; and from a private Man, became Commander in chief, by mere dint of Merit.

His Conduct in Power confirmed thoſe who had raiſed him to it in their Hopes; for by acting juſtly and honourably towards the *Indian* Chiefs, he eſtabliſhed a ſolid Reputation, and procured ſuch Intelligence as prov'd highly advantageous. By the Advice of one of theſe *Indian* Princes, he made a very troubleſome March through the Mountains, till on the 25th of *September*, 1513, he diſcovered, what no *European* had ever ſeen before, the *South Seas*; and had an imperfect Account of the great Empire of *Peru*. This opened a new Field for Diſcoveries, and was in itſelf a much greater Exploit than any of his Countrymen hitherto had undertaken. But the *Indians* who raiſed his Hopes by reporting prodigious Things of the Wealth of the great Kingdom, as they called it, at the

ſame time embarraſſed him not a little by their poſitive Aſſertions, that the Inhabitants of this Country were a numerous and warlike People; that they had great Veſſels like thoſe of the *Spaniards*; and that it was in vain for them to think of the Conqueſt of ſuch a Country with the Handful of Men under his Command.

Upon this *Paſco de Nunez*, though a Man of daring Courage, reſolved to attempt nothing till ſuch Time as he received a Commiſſion, and a Reinforcement from *Spain*, in order to which, he, and the People who were with him, made choice of two Agents to be ſent home. Unluckily for them, the News of their depoſing the King's Officer had reached *Spain*, and the King always jealous of his Authority, had immediately named one *Peter Arias*, Governor in thoſe Parts, and diſpatched him thither with a conſiderable Force. However, on the coming of theſe Agents we have before-mentioned, and their bringing with them a great Quantity of Gold on the King's Account, *Ferdinand* ſeemed to forget what was paſt, and ſent *Baſco de Nunez* a Commiſſion, appointing him *Adelantado*, or Lieutenant of the *South Seas*, which however was far from anſwering the Purpoſe for which it was granted.

On the firſt Arrival of *Peter Arias*, *Baſco de Nunez* paid him all imaginable Reſpect; but very quickly perceiving that the Governor exceed-

exceedingly diſliked him, he no longer made his Court to him, but on the contrary, became an open Malecontent. This naturally produced bad Conſequences, the rather, becauſe the new Governor, though a very brave and a very enterpriſing Man, was very far from being fortunate, through his Want of Knowledge of the Country, and his not caring to aſk the Advice of ſuch as had been longer there.

Amongſt the reſt of the *Spaniards*, who came over with the new Governor, there was a Biſhop, a Man of great Parts, and of no leſs Piety. He repreſented to *Baſco de Nunez* the Folly and Wickedneſs of inflaming the People againſt their Governor; and, on the other hand, he took pains to ſhew *Peter Arias* his Error in neglecting the *Adelantado*, whoſe Succeſs before his Arrival had procured the Province the Title of *Caſtilla del Oro*, or *Golden Caſtile*; whereas, ſince his Arrival, the *Spaniards* had acquired neither Fame nor Riches. By the Perſuaſions of this Prelate, a Reconciliation was brought about. Real on the Side of *Baſco de Nunez*, but feigned only by *Peter Arias*, who intended nothing more than to gain thereby an Opportunity of deſtroying *Nunez*, whom he declared his Son-in-Law, contracting him to the Lady *Mary*, his only Daughter, who was as yet in *Spain*, but who, as he pretended, was to come in the next Ships.

Not

Not long after this Reconciliation, *Peter de Arias* ſent *Baſco Nunez* with three hundred Men to make Diſcoveries in the *South Seas.* He reſolved to do nothing raſhly, and therefore fixed in that Part of the Country where *Panama* has been ſince built, where he cauſed great Quantities of Wood to be cut down, intending to make Veſſels of ſeveral kinds, that he might not be diſtreſſed in landing, or if he was obliged to keep long at Sea. The Confidence all Men had in his Conduct made Things go on chearfully, and great Expectations were formed of the Succeſs of his Voyage, when all on a ſudden he was recalled to *Darien*, where upon a Charge of treaſonable Expreſſions, ſupported by falſe Witneſſes, *Peter Arias*, after a formal Trial, cauſed his Head to be ſtruck off, thereby ridding himſelf of a Rival, though at the ſame time he blaſted the Hopes, and broke the Spirits of his People.

The Iſland of St. *Juan de Puerto Rico*, ſometimes though corruptly called *Borriquen*, had been diſcovered by *Columbus*, but it was firſt ſettled by *John Ponce de Leon*, a *Spaniſh* Gentleman, of ſome Courage, and great Fortune. This was ſo early as in the Year 1509, but it was ſome Years before it was thoroughly ſubdued and inhabited. Conſiderable Quantities of Gold were extracted out of the Streams of two of its Rivers; and *Ponce de Leon* having by this means acquired a very

a very large Eſtate, upon his being removed from the Government of the Iſland, reſolved to go upon new Diſcoveries. His Reputation, as a prudent Commander, and his known Generoſity, procured him many Followers; ſo that he was quickly in a Condition to execute his Deſign.

It was in the Beginning of the Year 1512, that he ſailed from *Puerto Rico*, and after a good deal of hard Weather, he at laſt approached the Continent, where he went on Shore, and took Poſſeſſion of it, calling it *Florida*; but whether, as ſome ſay, from its beautiful Appearance in the Spring Seaſon of the Year, or becauſe he landed in *Eaſter-Week*, which Feſtival the *Spaniards* call *Paſqua de Flores*, is uncertain. However, he was but a bare Diſcoverer, or at moſt he took a nominal Poſſeſſion of the Country; for the Natives being a brave, and well-armed People, forced him to reimbark his Forces, and to return to *Puerto Rico*, without being able to make any Settlement upon the Continent. Many Years afterwards *Ferdinand de Soto* undertook the Conqueſt of *Florida*, with a much greater Force, but after ſtruggling for five Years with many Difficulties, the *Spaniards* were once again obliged to abandon the Deſign.

*Yucatan* was diſcovered in 1517, by *Hernandez de Cordova*, a very gallant Man, who had a hundred Soldiers under his Command; he

he attempted to have taken Poſſeſſion of at leaſt that Part of the Country where he landed; but the *Indians* aſſembling in great Numbers, vigorouſly oppoſed him; ſo that at length he was conſtrained to abandon his Deſign, and to return again to *Cuba*, having fifty of his Men wounded in an Engagement, wherein he himſelf alſo, is reported by ſome Authors, to have been hurt in thirty-three Places. *Francis de Monteyo*, with five hundred *Spaniards*, went over to the ſame Country, and with ſome Difficulty at firſt ſettled there, by degrees cultivating a Friendſhip with the Natives, they made themſelves very eaſy, and intermarrying with them, began to take up their Cuſtoms, and ſo lived in Eaſe and Plenty, without thinking any more of Conqueſts, or the Toils of War. Indeed this Part of *America* has been always better peopled by the Natives than any other, in conſequence of which, the *Spaniards* have been forced to behave better there than in other Places, and to uſe their Power with greater Mildneſs than is natural to that haughty Nation.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Conqueſt of* Mexico, *by Don* Ferdinand Cortez.

THE narrow Compaſs in which it is deſigned to bring the hiſtorical Part of this Work, will not allow us to enter minutely into the Detail of this great Conqueror's Exploits; but for all this we cannot help entertaining the Reader with a conciſe Character of the moſt illuſtrious Perſon after the Admiral *Columbus*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in theſe Parts of the World. This we ſhall the rather do, becauſe many of our *Engliſh* Authors have reported various Falſehoods concerning him.

*Ferdinand Cortez* was born at *Medellin*, a ſmall Town of *Eſtramadura* in *Spain* in the Year 1485; his Father's Name was *Martin Cortez de Monroy*; his Mother's, *Catherina Pizarro Altamarino*, both noble, though not in extraordinary Circumſtances. They found a good deal of Difficulty in bringing up this Son of theirs, who was of a very weak and tender Conſtitution, till he reached the Age of fourteen Years. He then grew ſtrong and healthy, which induced his Parents to ſend him to *Salamanca*, to purſue his Studies, intending, that when he grew up he ſhould have applied himſelf to the Law. But this not

not ſuiting at all with his Inclinations, he quickly left the Univerſity, and returned home. Some ſhort Time after he reſolved to paſs over into *Italy*, in order to ſerve under the Command of *Gonçalvo de Cordova*, who is better known by his Title of the *Great Captain*. But a very ſevere quartan Ague obliged the young *Cortez* to lay aſide this Deſign, and when he was thoroughly recovered from this Diſtemper, his Father procured him Letters of Recommendation to *Nicholas de Obando*, Governor of *Hiſpaniola*, a very worthy Perſon, and a Native alſo of the Province of *Eſtramadura*.

In the Year 1504 he embarked at *Sevil*, on board a Veſſel commanded by *Alonzo Quintero*, who with four other Veſſels ſailed for the *Indies*. Through the Obſtinacy and Indiſcretion of the Captain, they had but a very indifferent Paſſage, in which, however, *Cortez* gave ſignal Proofs of all thoſe ſhining Qualities, by which he became afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed. On his Arrival in *Hiſpaniola*, he was very kindly received, and had a Place given him, in which he continued a Year or two. He was at this Time about twenty Years of Age, extremely handſome in his Perſon, affable in his Behaviour, and amiable in his Manners. He had a great Facility in ſpeaking without affecting Eloquence; he was very prudent, and yet quick in his Reſolutions, and ready in the Execution

tion of them; he had a wonderful Preſence, and no leſs Steadineſs of Mind; a Courage, equally capable of bearing, and of undertaking all things; a generous Contempt of Money, and an earneſt Deſire of obliging all without expecting any Return.

A juſt Senſe of his great Abilities engaged *James Velaſquez*, on his being made Governor of *Cuba*, to make Choice of *Cortez* for his Secretary. He had not been long in *Cuba* before he fell into a very great Misfortune. It ſeems the Governor was a little arbitrary, which created ſuch Diſcontents in the Iſland, that ſeveral very conſiderable Perſons cauſed a Memorial to be drawn up, containing a Charge of Male Adminiſtration againſt him, and employed *Cortez*, in conjunction with *Andrew de Duero*, a very diſcreet Perſon, and one of the moſt conſiderable Men in the Colony, to go over with him into *Hiſpaniola*, where at that Time there were Judges of Appeals arrived from *Spain*. But *Velaſquez* having Notice of this Deſign, found means to apprehend *Cortez*, with whom he was ſo much offended, that he was on the Point of hanging him. At laſt, through the Perſuaſion of his Friends, he contented himſelf with cauſing *Cortez* to be put in Irons, and to be ſent on board a Bark ready to ſail for *Hiſpaniola*. In the Night the Priſoner found means to get off his Irons; and though he had not learned to ſwim, he had the Cou-

rage

rage to throw himſelf into the Sea with a Log of Wood in his Arms; unluckily for him, it was then ebb, ſo that he was carried out to Sea a League beyond the Ship: The Flood, however, brought him back and threw him on Shore, but ſo tired and bruiſed, that he was once on the Point of quitting his Log, and ſuffering himſelf to be drowned. As ſoon as he recovered Strength enough to be able to walk, he went and hid himſelf in an adjacent Grove till it was dark, and then he crept into a Church, where he took Sanctuary.

He continued there for ſome time, till an amorous Adventure brought upon him a freſh Misfortune. Hard by the Church there lived one *John Xuarez*, who had a very handſome Siſter; *Cortez* was extremely ſmitten with her, and as he went one Day to pay his Addreſſes to her, as ſhe ſtood at a Window, an Officer of Juſtice came behind him, catched him up in his Arms, and carried him to Priſon. The Magiſtrates, deſirous of pleaſing the Governor, paſſed a very ſevere Sentence on him. But *James Velaſquez*, who was naturally a Man of great Humanity, mitigated it firſt, and then ſet him at Liberty, refuſing however to take him again into his Service, which reduced *Cortez* to very great Wants. In this low Condition he married *Catherina Xuarez*, when he ſcarce knew how to maintain either himſelf or her. Their Condition was very little mended when ſhe was brought

to

to Bed of a Son, to whom, at his Requeſt, the Governor *Velaſquez* ſtood God-father. By degrees he recovered that Gentleman's Favour, who gave him an Eſtate in the Country, and a certain Number of *Indians* for Servants. From this Beginning he quickly grew rich, and which is more extraordinary, gained ſuch an Aſcendant over the Governor, that when he had equipped at his own Expence a very large Fleet, in order to make Diſcoveries on the Coaſt of the Continent, he gave the Command of it to this *Ferdinand Cortez.*

An Accident happened, when he was almoſt ready to depart, which had well nigh baffled all his Hopes, and brought him once more into Diſtreſs. As *Velaſquez* and *Cortez* were one Day viewing the Fleet, a Fool which the former kept cried out, Maſter Governor, if you ſend away *Cortez* with this Fleet, you muſt ſend another to look after him. This ſtruck *Velaſquez* ſo much, that he had Thoughts of changing his Admiral; but *Cortez* being a Man of deep Penetration, he no ſooner diſcovered this, than he reſolved to ſail without taking Leave or expecting Orders; and this bold Deſign he ſuddenly and ſucceſsfully put in Execuion, being exceedingly beloved by all the Soldiers and Sailors who were employed in this Expedition.

Arriving at *Vera Cruz,* and receiving there Information of the vaſt Wealth of the King

of *Mexico*, he ſet forward towards him on the 16th of *Auguſt* 1520, with five hundred Foot, fifteen Horſe, and one thouſand three hundred *Indians* to carry the Baggage. After four Days March he came to a goodly Country, called *Chinchecas*; but before he came thither he had paſſed high Hills, full of Snow and Ice, though it was in *Auguſt*.

Next he came to *Tlaſcalla*, inhabited by a People who were Enemies to the *Mexicans*. *Cortez* overthrew them in three Conflicts; the Town had twenty thouſand Houſes very fair, and handſome Markets and Fairs: *Cortez* took it by Night, and returned to his Camp, where he found his Men in Mutiny; but appeaſed them by wiſe and mild Exhortations, doing all he could to inſpire them with Piety, and to form no Ideas of conquering but out of hope they ſhould ſpread abroad the Goſpel of *Chriſt*. From thence he went to *Chalotecan*, a Country no leſs fruitful; where he was entertained with their kind of Muſick; but they were ſet on by the King of *Mexico* to betray him, which was diſcovered by an *Indian* Woman; and *Cortez*, to ſecure himſelf, and revenge their Treachery, ſuddenly ſet upon them, and overcame them. The King of *Mexico* ſent to excuſe himſelf of this Treaſon, and to lay it upon the People of the Country: He likewiſe ſent to invite *Cortez* to *Mexico*, and as he paſſed the Country he was well entertained, eſpecially in *Tlatelulco* and *Xaliſco*,

*Xaliſco*, the one Friend, the other Enemy to the *Mexicans*.

When *Cortez* came within half a Mile of *Montezuma*, the King ſent a thouſand Courtiers, all in one Garb, to meet him, who ſaluted him one after another, firſt touching the Ground with their Fingers, and kiſſing it. Then came *Montezuma*, with two hundred better apparalled, two and two together, without Shoes, though they uſe Shoes at other Times; he leaned upon two of his Nobility, to ſhew that he was upheld by his Nobles. *Cortez* was told he muſt not touch the King, for that it was the Cuſtom of the Country: He preſented the King with a Chain of Bugles, and ſome Diamonds in it; which the King took in good Part, and gave him in requital another of Gold wrought in Snails, Crabs, and ſuch Toys. He lodged *Cortez* in his Palace with great Solemnity, and made liberal Proviſion for his Army. The King erected a curious Throne of State, where he directed his Speech to the *Spaniards* as follows:

Noble Soldiers, and merciful Captains to them that yield, you are welcome into this Country of ours; I would have you know that our Forefathers have told us, and our Chronicles declare it, that we are not anciently of this Land wherein we live, but brought hither by a King, who left us here becauſe we refuſed to return with him in Company. Our Forefathers married, had

Iſſue, built Houſes which we enjoy; and we have ever been of Opinion, that they will come to us again, and make us Subjects to them, as they have formerly been to our Anceſtors. And therefore conſidering from whence you come, and that you are ſent from a great King, we yield to you all Obedience and Service, and make Account you are entered into your own Houſes. I am not ignorant of what hath happened to you by the Way, and that the *Cimpoalans* have ſpoken ill of me; they are my Enemies, and I pray you believe them not; I know they tell you my Houſes and Walls are Gold, and that I make myſelf a God; but I pray you behold my Houſes that are made of Wood, Lime and Stone, and myſelf a fleſhly Man like others. Indeed I have Plate from my Anceſtors, and what I have ſhall be yours. I muſt now depart, but will ſo provide that neither you nor yours ſhall want.

*Cortez* anſwered, that what he ſaid was true, and that the King of *Spain* was the King they looked for; and that he was ſent thither purpoſely to let them know ſo much. After they had paſſed ſix Days in great Jollity, *Cortez* had News that ſome of his Men were murdered by the King's Apointment; for which he was glad, thinking to take that Occaſion to ſubdue and conquer him and his Country. *Cortez* ſent for the Malefactors, and put them to Death; they accuſed *Montezuma*,

*tezuma*, whom likewiſe he impriſoned, but within a while after he ſet him at Liberty; he confeſſed his Fault, and promiſed his Allegiance ever after.

The King choſe rather to dwell in the Palace with *Cortez*, than at Pleaſure abroad. To give him Satisfaction, he ſent to diſcover Mines for him, and procured a great Quantity of Wealth to preſent him; he wiſhed and adviſed his Nobles to obey *Cortez*, and laboured how he might ſubdue *Cacomacſin*, his Vaſſal, who wholly refuſed to ſubmit to *Cortez*. This Act of his was affirmed by public Notaries in Writing, by the Conſent of all the Nobility, and interchangeably given to each another.

*Valaſquez*, the Governor of *Cuba*, envying *Cortez*, ſent *Narvaes* with eighteen Sail of Ships, and a proportionable Body of Forces and Ammunition to command, and, in caſe of Refuſal, to compel *Cortez* to go out and quit *Mexico*; at which *Cortez* was amazed, and in a Dilemma; for, if he made Head againſt *Narvaes*, the *Indians* would preſently have revolted; and if he did not, *Narvaes* would in time poſſeſs himſelf of the Country; wherefore he reſolved with one hundred and ſeventy Men to go againſt *Narvaes*, leaving a Garriſon in *Tenuſtilan*, which he commended to the Care of the King. *Narvaes* had eight hundred *Spaniards*, and nineteen great Pieces of Cannon; nevertheleſs, *Cortez*

ſet upon, took him, and the reſt yielded themſelves, being better inclined to their new than to their old Commander.

In this Interim, the Citizens of *Tenuſtilan* revolted againſt the King and *Spaniards*, and aſſaulted the Caſtle, alledging, their Diſlike to the *Spaniards* was for breaking down their Idol; but in truth they laid hold of this at a proper Seaſon for recovering their Liberty.

*Cortez* haſtened thither with ſeventy Horſe, and five hundred *Spaniards*, which gave Heart to them in the Caſtle; the *Indians* were deſperate, and deſired rather to die than live; they put *Cortez* to a Retreat, which emboldened them much, and endangered the *Spaniards* more.

*Cortez* afterwards uſed many Engines, and other Inventions; and though he ſlew Multitudes of *Indians*, yet they, becauſe of their Numbers, valued it not. *Montezuma* looking out of a Window, thinking to diſſuade the People from their violent Courſes againſt the *Spaniards*, was ſtruck with a Stone, of which Wound he died within three Days. He was a Man of a good Nature, wiſe and prudent. The *Spaniards* gave the *Mexicans* his Body to bury, and offered the *Indians* Conditions of Peace, which they wholly refuſed, vowing to thruſt the *Spaniards* out of their Country, though it were with the Loſs of a thouſand Men to one. Yet within a Day they deceitfully made a Propoſition of Peace, which

which *Cortez* accepted of; and, to give them the more Content, he ſet a Prieſt of theirs at Liberty, thinking it would have wrought more heartily; but the Day following, when *Cortez* had the leaſt Suſpicion of them, and ſat quietly at Dinner, they attempted one of his Houſes; whereupon he ſuddenly roſe from Table, and with his Horſe charged the *Indians*, where he loſt diverſe Men, and was himſelf ſorely wounded, and ſcarce able to retire. It was now come to that paſs with the *Spaniards*, that they muſt either periſh or quit the City; and that Night they reſolved to fly with *Montezuma*'s Children, and Treaſure; but the *Indians* having Notice of it, purſued them, recovered the Priſoners, ſlew one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, forty one Horſes, and two thouſand *Indians* that took their Part. Now did *Cortez* endure great Miſery and Famine, and had but one dead Horſe to feed on in five Days, till he came to *Tlaſcalla*.

The *Tlaſcallans* entertained him courteouſly, where he ſtaid ten Days; he built many Fortreſſes for his own Safety and theirs, and ſent for Aid into *Hiſpaniola:* In the mean time he gained the Love of many *Indians*, who took part againſt the *Mexicans*. *Cortez* built thirteen Boats; and on the other Side, the new King of *Mexico* prepared for War, and made certain Pikes to annoy the Horſe, which they feared more than the Men. *Cortez* cut a Paſſage into the Salt Lake, for his

Boats to have a Paſſage to the Siege of *Tenuſtitlan:* Theſe Ships intercepted all Proviſions, and annoyed the *Indians* infinitely. *Cortez* aſſailed the Town in four Places, having in his Army one hundred and twenty thouſand Men; ſome came for Fear, ſome for Liberty, ſome for Friendſhip, ſome out of Gain. This Siege laſted ten Weeks, and waſted ten thouſand Men with Famine and other Misfortunes. *Cortez*, by Chance, took the new King as he was ſtealing away ſecretly by the Lake: He ſubdued *Tinuſtitlan*, and fourt en Towns by the Lake Side; as alſo all the *Mexicans* Realms and Provinces, to the Crown of *Spain*, giving great Spoil to the Soldiers, and reſerving the Fifths to the King.

There are ſcarce any Circumſtances which can be thought of capable of raiſing the Reputation of a Conqueror, which are not to be found in the Story of *Cortez*. He owed his Authority entirely to his Merit, and, which is wonderful, he kept it by the ſame Means, not only in Spight of his powerful Enemies in the *Indies* and *Spain*, but alſo notwithſtanding many Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon, and ſeveral very dangerous Seditions amongſt his Troops. He performed theſe mighty Things, with a very inconſiderable Body of Men. At the taking the City of *Mexico*, which happened on the 13th of *Auguſt*, 1521, he had but nine hundred *Spaniſh*

*niſh* Foot, eighty Horſe, and ſeventeen ſmall Pieces of Cannon. Indeed the *Indians* who ſided with him were, as we ſaid before, very numerous. His Conduct towards this Nation was ſuch as gained the Reverence and Affection; ſo that it may be ſaid his Perſonal Accompliſhments were of as great Uſe in acquiring this Country to *Spain*, as a large Army. Notwithſtanding he was ſo great a Stateſman, and ſo able a General, yet he never did any thing inconſiſtent with the Rules of Honour, or unbecoming that Piety which he ſhewed in all his Actions. He was extremely loyal to his Prince, grateful and benificent to his Friends, juſt, and generous to all. Yet he wanted not many Enemies, envious alike of his Merit and his Fortune, and who therefore took abundance of Pains to prejudice the Emperor *Charles* V. againſt him.

In the Year 1528 *Cortez* found it convenient to return into *Spain*, in order to juſtify his Conduct againſt his Enemies. The Emperor *Charles* V. received him with great Reſpect, gave him the whole Vale of *Atriſco*, with the Towns and Villages therein, conferred on him the Title of Marquis of the Vale of *Guaxaca*; and to complete his Favours, procured him a very honourable Marriage. The next Year he returned to *Mexico*, with his Lady, but with a very limited Commiſſion, which turned more to the Diſadvantage

tage of the *Spaniſh* Government, than to the private Loſs of the Marquiſs, who was ſo much beloved and eſteemed in that Part of the World, as to ſtand in no Need of Authority to procure him Reſpect.

He was ſome Time afterwards Captain-General, *Mendoça* being Viceroy of the Province, at which Time there happened many private Grudges between them, but yet they joined together for the finding out of the Paſſage from thoſe Seas to ours, which we properly call the *North Weſt Paſſage*; as alſo in the Conqueſt of *Sibola* and *Quivera*, where they were perſwaded by certain Friars, that the People worſhipped the Croſs, and had other Tokens of Chriſtianity; but all proved falſe, and few *Spaniards* returned home, their Miſery was ſo great, and the Country ſo cold and barren, the People cruel, and five hundred Leagues from *Mexico*. *Cortez*, after his taking *Mexico*, ſent to diſcover the Northern Parts, and his People arrived in a Country where *Ticoantipe Cician Pipe* was King, who received them lovingly, and ſent an Ambaſſador to *Cortez*, thinking he was come out of the Clouds, and that their Veſſels were great Whales. They wondered at their Horſes, and accepted a Friendly Peace, offering *Cortez* fifty thouſand Men to aſſiſt in conquering *Tutepee*, who was his Enemy for uſing the Chriſtians well.

Some

Some new Troubles that he met with in relation to his Diſcoveries, wherein the Vice-roy interfered, inclined him in the Year 1542, to make a ſecond Voyage into *Spain*, where he was received with as much Honour, and yet obtained as little Satisfaction as before. To ſpeak impartially, the Emperor had conceived a kind of Jealouſy, that if *Cortez* was rewarded according to his Merit, he would become too formidable for a Subject. The Marquis was a Man of too much Senſe and Penetration, not to diſcern the Judgment which was formed of him at Court, when he had reſided there but a little while. He was however too wiſe, and too much a Man of Honour to think that any Miſtakes made by his Prince could cancel any Part of the Duty he owed him: For this Reaſon he applied himſelf more aſſiduouſly than ever to merit the Emperor's Affections. He attended him in the dangerous and diſaſterous Expedition againſt *Algiers*, and notwithſtanding all his former Services, had ſo low a Commiſſion as to be without a Voice in the Council of War. Being unhorſed in a Charge he made againſt the Infidels, he is ſaid to have loſt in the Field two Emeralds of immenſe Value.

After his Return to *Spain* from that Expedition, he affected to lead a quiet and retired Life, employing moſt of his Time in the Inſtruction of his Children, of whom he had many,

many, both legitimate and illegitimate. His ſecond Wife was the Daughter of the Count of *Aguilar*, by whom he had a Son, who ſucceeded him in his Titles, and ſome of whoſe Deſcendants are ſtill living. As for the great *Cortez* himſelf, he died at a Village near *Seville*, called *Caſtilleja de la Cueſta*, on the ſecond of *December* 1554, in the 63d Year of Age; but his Corps, by his own Direction, was carried into *New Spain*.

## CHAP. VI.

### *The* HISTORY *of the Conqueſt of* Peru, *and the Diſturbances which followed thereon.*

IT has been already ſhewn how *Baſco de Nunez*, gave the firſt Notice of this Country to the *Spaniards*, and opened a Paſſage to the *South-Seas*. After his Death *Peter de Arias*, made many Attempts to proſecute that Diſcovery to very little Purpoſe; for his Pride and Cruelty was ſo great, that he was univerſally hated, which was the Occaſion of his miſcarrying in almoſt every Thing he undertook. It was otherwiſe with *Francis Pizarro*, though his Circumſtances were but very indifferent, when he firſt applied himſelf to make Diſcoveries.

As to his Family there is little to be ſaid; for though ſome Writers affirm his Father was a Nobleman, yet, even theſe agree, that his

his Birth was ſpurious, which is the more probable, becauſe the Time thereof is not certainly known. He came into the *Indies* at leaſt as early as *Cortez*, but did not riſe ſo quickly into Reputation, being able to make no Figure in the World, till he raiſed a Stock of Wealth and Reputation of his own, which though done with all the Expedition he could, took up for all that ſome Years.

The Beginning of his great Deſigns happened thus: *Pizarro* and *Diego de Almagro*, being at *Panama*, were deſirous, like other Undertakers, to try their Skill, and employ their Fortunes in Diſcoveries. *Almagro* being rich, drew to him one *Ferdinand Luque*, a Schoolmaſter and Prieſt of that Town, who was likewiſe wealthy; and all three undertook a Diſcovery, with a Vow, by which they ſolemnly promiſed each unto the other, equally to divide the Profit that ſhould accrue. It was determined amongſt them, that *Pizarro* ſhould undertake the Conqueſt; *Almago* go and come with all Neceſſaries to relieve them, and *Luque* to make Proviſion for Supplies: This happened in the Year 1525. The firſt Voyage that *Pizarro* made, was with one Ship, and one hundred and fourteen Men: He ſailed one hundred Leagues; and went aſhore ſeveral Times, where he found ſharp Encounters, loſt ſome of his Men, and was himſelf hurt in ſeveral Places, which forced him

him to return to *Chincama*, not far from *Panama*, repenting of his Enterprize.

*Almagro*, who ſtayed behind *Pizarro*, to ſupply him as you have heard, went after him with ſeventy Men, and came to the River of *St. John*; and finding no Sign of *Pizarro*'s being there return'd; but at his going back he landed at ſome Places, where he found *Pizarro* had been, and where he was hurt. *Almagro* ſlew and hurt ſeveral Men, and returned to *Panama*, thinking *Pizarro* had done the like; but underſtanding that he was at *Chincama*, he went to him, and by Conſent, furniſhed two Ships, and carried, to recruit his Forces, two hundred *Spaniards* and ſome *Indians*. They arrived at a marſhy and wateriſh Place, where the People live in Trees. They are warlike, and their Country capable of Defence, which they ſtood, and killed many *Spaniards*, ſhewing an implacable Averſion towards them, deſpiſed their Preſents, inſulted their Meſſengers, and called them the *Scum of the Sea*, having no Fathers; and ſaid they would have none in their Country that had Beards, or that would break their Cuſtoms.

*Pizarro* and *Almagro* had a great Deſire to conquer that Country, becauſe of the Shew the Inhabitants made of Gold and precious Stones; but could not do it with that ſmall Force, becauſe many of them were ſick and weak, and not a few were dead.

*Almagro*

*Almagro* returned to *Panama* for fourſcore Men more; but before his coming back, *Pizarro* indured great Want of Victuals. Upon *Almagro*'s Return, they found their Forces ſo ſmall, the Country ſo barren and unhealthful, that they left it, and went *Chatama*, where they found Plenty of all Things, and thought to make themſelves ſo rich, that they needed not to proceed farther; but they were deceived, for the *Indians* were their Enemies, and ſo many that they durſt not fight them. *Almagro* was to go back for more Men to *Panama*, and *Pizarro* to ſtay in the Iſland of *Guara*.

The *Spaniards* were ſo weak and tired, and ſo diſcontented, that they deſired to retire with *Almagro*, and to leave their Hopes of Gold; but *Pizarro* would not ſuffer them either to go or write, leſt they ſhould have diſcredited the Country; and ſo *Almagro* would have got no Soldiers; but notwithſtanding this Prohibition, the Soldiers writ, and hid their Letters in Bottoms of Thread, by which Means their Miſeries came to be known, and complained of to the Governor, who commanded that no Man ſhould ſtay with *Pizarro* againſt his Will. At *Almagro*'s coming to *Panama*, one *Pedro de la Rios* was arrived for Governor, who proclaimed, That no Man ſhould ſtay with *Pizarro* againſt his liking, and ſent a Meſſenger to *Pizarro* to let him know ſo much. Whereupon

upon moſt of his Men left him, and thoſe that *Almagro* took up, run away from him; ſo that *Pizarro* had but twelve Men left with him, whereof one was a *Grecian*. He went to an Iſland called *Gorgena*, where he lived upon Snakes, Herbs and Crab-Fiſhes, till *Almagro*'s Return from *Panama*; and then he went over to the main Land, and put the *Greek* aſhore who brought him News of the Riches of that Country, and the Plenty of Victuals, with the State of their King *Atabaliba*, which was Matter of great Joy to them all; for the *South-Sea* was the Fountain of their Wealth and Happineſs, being by far the richeſt of all their Diſcoveries.

*Pizarro* hereupon returned to *Panama*, and from thence into *Spain*, to carry the Emperor News of this rich Country, of which he deſired the Government. He alſo left two *Spaniards* behind him to learn the Language, Cuſtoms, and Riches of the Country, but they were afterwards ſlain by the *Indians*. *Pizarro* was above three Years upon this Diſcovery of *Peru*, and endured as much Hunger, and other Miſeries as Man could do; but having much Courage and Conſtancy ſupported all with Alacrity.

Arriving at *Panama*, *Pizarro* imparted the Hope of his Diſcoveries to his Aſſociates, who though they were grown low and poor, yet had Credit enough to borrow a thouſand Pieces of Gold to defray the Expences of his Voyage

Voyage to *Spain*. On his Arrival there, the Propoſals he made were readily entertained, and the Emperor gave him the Title of *Adelantado of Peru*; but as to Ships or Men, he furniſh'd them with none. To procure theſe, *Pizarro*, ſpoke in very ſtrong Terms of the Riches of the Country he had diſcovered, which drew to him a ſufficient Number of Adventurers, whom he imbarked without Delay. He carried with him to the *Indies*, three of his Brethren, *Ferdinand*, *John*, and *Gonſalo*. *Ferdinand* only legitimate, the others Baſtards. They arriv'd in *Panama* in great Pomp and Pride; but *Almagro* was offended with *Francis Pizarro*, becauſe he had taken upon himſelf all the Honour in *Spain*, and excluded him, who was at all the Expence, and Part of the Labour and Pains. *Pizarro* excuſed himſelf the beſt he could, which gave however but little Satisfaction.

The Expence of the *Pizarro*'s was ſo great, and their Stock ſo ſmall, that they could not proceed upon their Enterprize without the Help of *Almagro*, whom *Francis Pizarro* laboured to win to a Partnerſhip again. In Concluſion, by Mediation of Friends, *Almagro* furniſhed him with ſeven hundred Pieces of Eight, and ſuch Arms and Victuals as he had; ſo that *Pizarro* proceeded with two Ships, and as many Men as he could carry in them. He came to a Place called *Coaque*, where he found much Wealth; but

in making himſelf maſter of it, endured great Miſery. From hence he ſent to King *Atabaliba* for a League and his Perſonal Friendſhip; who anſwered if he would return the Wealth he had gotten, and clear the Country of his Forces, he would be his Friend, or elſe not: A Friar was ſent to perſwade him, but all in vain, ſo they came to a Battle. Many of the *Indians* were ſlain, and their King taken Priſoner, and not a *Spaniard* killed or hurt, but only *Francis Pizarro*, in the Head, as he was ſnatching at the King to take him.

Before this *Pizarro* took the Iſland of *Puna*, and gained great Wealth, which he gave to his Soldiers that came to him lately. Here his People fell ſick of the Pox, a natural Diſeaſe of thoſe Parts; and here he delivered ſeventy Priſoners that had been taken by the Iſlanders, and ſent them all to *Tambes*, whence they were. Notwithſtanding this Courteſy, they incenſed the People againſt the *Spaniards*, and ſlew three that were ſent in a civil Manner to treat with them; which ſo inraged *Pizarro*, that he took their Town, and chaſtiſing them ſeverely, brought them to Obedience.

Theſe Things happened before the taking of *Atabaliba* Priſoner, who now being in their Hands, offered for his Ranſom, as much Silver and Gold, as would fill a high and ſpacious Room, wherein he was, which he truly

truly performed; but the Time was ſo long before it could be brought two hundred Miles, that *Ferdinand Pizarro* adventured to go for it, and in that Journey he learnt much of the Secrets of the Country. *Francis Pizarrro* divided the Treaſure thus gotten, and gave to every Man his due; never any Soldiers in the World were ſo rich. He dealt juſtly with *Almagro*, and gave him what was his due: All Things grew exceeding dear, or rather worth much Money; a Shirt was ſold at ten Pounds, a Quart of Wine at five Pounds, and one thouſand two hundred and fifty Pounds was the Price of a Horſe. *Pizarro* ſent his Brother *Ferdinand* to the Emperor, with his Fifths, and a Relation of what had happened. Many common Soldiers went, who carried ſome twenty, ſome thirty, ſome forty thouſand Ducats in Plate, as the Reward of their Fatigues.

There was an *Indian* call'd *Philip*, a Chriſtian, and Interpreter to the *Spaniards*, who fell in love with one of *Atabaliba*'s Wives, and thinking to marry her after his Death, accuſed him of plotting the Deſtruction of the *Spaniards*, for which he was condemned and executed, but whether juſtly or not, is a Queſtion. Before his Death he deſired to be baptized, but whether from his Heart or not, is alſo uncertain. *Pizarro* hearing the Fame of *Cuſco*, marched thither and took it, where he found as much Wealth as he had gotten

by the Ranſom of *Atabaliba*; and it is thought there was as much hid that never came to Light, though no Pains were ſpared in ſearching.

*Almagro* had Commiſſion from the Emperor to be Marſhal of *Peru*, and Governor of one hundred Leagues of Land further than *Pizarro*, or beyond the Bounds of his Government. Whereupon he took upon him to govern *Cuſco*, and this was the firſt Beginning of the Strife betwixt them two, but for the preſent their Jarrs were accommodated; and *Almagro* went to diſcover the Country of *Chili* in 1535, where he endured much Hunger, Cold, and other Diſaſters. *Ferdinand Pizarro* returned out of *Spain* and came to *Lima*, after *Almagro*'s Departure to *Chili*, and brought a Patent to his Brother, wherein he was made a Marquis, and to *Almagro* a Patent for the Government of *New Toledo*.

He required all the Silver and Gold that was received for the Ranſom of *Atabaliba* for the Emperor, the other being a King; but the Soldiers anſwered they had paid their Fifths, which was their Duty. This cauſed a ſudden Mutiny; but *Pizarro* appeaſed it, though with the Ill-will of the Soldiers. *Mango*, whom *Pizarro* had made King, rebelled againſt him, and had almoſt taken *Cuſco*. In the Conflict he ſlew divers *Spaniards*. *Almagro* hearing the Emperor had made him Governor, as aforeſaid, returned

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out of *Chili*, and took *Cuſco* by Force, alledging it was in his Government. He impriſoned *Ferdinand Pizarro*: *Mango*, the *Indian* King beſieged it, and now began, or revived the old Broils betwixt *Almagro* and *Pizarro*; and now did *Franciſco Pizarro* receive many Loſſes by the *Indians* that rebelled againſt him. *Pizarro* ſent Forces to regain *Cuſco* from *Almagro*, but by Mediation of Friends they were to meet and conſult before they fought, but to little Purpoſe; for that Treaty broke off, and they fought a moſt cruel Battle, in which *Almagro* was taken, and put into the ſame Priſon into which he had put the Brother of *Pizarro*, who, being now at Liberty, there condemned and executed him. If the *Indians* had taken Advantage of this Diviſion, they had defeated the whole Power of the *Spaniards*.

*Almagro* was of mean Birth, and it was never known who was his Father; he could not read, but was valiant, ſincere, merciful, and withal ſomewhat haughty and vain-glorious. *Francis Pizarro*, upon this Accident ſent his Brother *Ferdinand* into *Spain* with the Emperor's Fifths, and to excuſe the Death of *Almagro*. He came to *Valladolid* in great State, and with much Wealth; but within a While after was committed to Priſon. *Francis Pizarro* went on with his Expedition, wherein he experienced Variety of Fortune, ſometimes gaining great Victo-

ries, and at others endured great Hardſhips; yet he prevailed in the End, and got great Wealth, and made Peace with the *Indian* Kings. *Gonſalo Pizarro* was likewiſe a principal Man in all theſe Undertakings.

*Francis Pizarro* returning from *Lima*, or, as the *Spaniſh* Authors call it, the City of the Kings, endeavoured to be reconciled to *Diego de Almagro*, Son to him that was put to Death; but he would accept of no Conditions of Friendſhip; neither would *John de Rada* adviſe him to it, who was left in Charge of him at his Father's Death, with Command to ſeek Revenge of the *Pizarros*; and though *Francis Pizarro* was ſtill inform'd of the Practice againſt him, yet he little eſteemed it; but notwithſtanding his Security, on the 24th of *June* 1541, *John de Rada*, and ten others, entered upon him whilſt he was at Dinner, and ſlew him. He was a Man neither liberal nor covetous, nor would he proclaim what he gave; he was a good Huſband for the King, and a great Gameſter, not regarding with whom he played: He would never wear rich Apparel, and yet ſometimes would put on a Garment that *Ferdinando Cortez* ſent him: He took a Pride to wear white Shoes, and a white Hat, in Imitation of *Gonſalo* the Great Captain. He uſed his Soldiers well, and thereby as he got, ſo he kept their Affections; he was debonair, valiant, and honourable, which made him incapable

incapable of Suſpicion, and negligent of his Health or Life. Upon his Death, his and *Almagro*'s Faction had many Bickerings; and at laſt thoſe of *Almagro*'s Party ſeditiouſly proclaimed there was no other Governor in *Peru*, but *Diego de Almagro*. He appointed *John de Rada* his General; they committed many Inſolencies, Murders, and Cruelties; they ſeized and divided all the Goods of the *Pizarros* and their Friends among their Deſcendents, and placed whom they liſted in Command, meaning to make *Diego de Almagro* their King.

The Emperor hearing of thoſe Tumults in *Peru*, ſent one *Vaca de Caſtro*, a Doctor, with Authority to puniſh them; and he coming thither, thoſe who ſtood firm for the Emperor repaired to him; whereupon *Almagro* prepared to maintain himſelf by Force, and marched immediately with all his Troops to meet him, where they fought a cruel Battle, in which *Almagro* was overthrown; though more Men were ſlain on the other Side; few Captains eſcaped, and thoſe that were hurt, died by Reaſon of the great Froſt and Snow that was in the Country. *Vaca de Caſtro* condemned and executed thirty of the principal Offenders, and baniſhed divers others; *Almagro* fled to *Cuſco*, thinking to find Relief, but his Lieutenant he left there, hearing the Succeſs which the Viceroy had in the Bat-

tle, apprehended him, and *Vaca de Caſtro* at his coming thither cut off his Head.

This *Diego de Almagro* was a Baſtard, whom his Father had by an *Indian* Woman in *Panama*; but he was braver than the *Meſtizos* uſed to be; he was the firſt that ever took up Arms againſt the King in the *Indies*; his Followers were ſo loving and conſtant to him, that though they had often Offers of Pardon, they would not leave him. *Vaca de Caſtro* ſettled things in good Order, gave the *Indians* Content, who now began again to cultivate their Grounds, which before they could not do for the Wars; and about this Time many Mines were diſcovered.

The Emperor being informed of the Revolts in *Peru*, and the ill Uſage of the *Indians*, he diſplaced his Commiſſioners there, and choſe others, giving them an Oath to deal juſtly, and to order things uprightly. He made forty Laws, and ſigned them at *Barcelona* the 20th of *November* 1542. But theſe Laws were ill taken in *Peru*. They were certainly well intended, and very agreeable to the Rules of natural Juſtice and Equity, but in the Situation things were in, by no means expedient to be publiſhed in *Peru*, where things grew daily worſe and worſe; beſides, *Blaſco Nunez Vela*, who was appointed Viceroy in 1544, and who had Directions to ſee theſe Laws put in Execution, was a Man no way qualified for his Employment. On his Arri-

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val he cauſed his Predeceſſor, who was a much wiſer Man than himſelf, to be impriſoned, and behaved in every Reſpect ſo ſeverely, that he gained no Friends, though he provoked many to become his Enemies. Three of the Judges, who ſhould have ſupported him, conſpired againſt him, and cauſed him to be impriſoned, while in the mean time *Gonſalo Pizarro* drew together Troops, and diſpoſed all things for a Rebellion. The Diſputes between the Judges and the Viceroy facilitated his Deſign; for though the latter quickly recovered his Liberty, and drew one of the Judges to his Party, yet the reſt of the Judges continued to act by their own Authority, and behaved ſo cruelly and ſo tyrannically, that at length perceiving they had no other Reſource, they were glad to admit *Gonſalo Pizarro* for Governor of *Peru*, to ſeal a Commiſſion to him in the King's Name, and to receive him with all Demonſtrations of Reſpect into the City of *Lima*.

The Viceroy returned into the Province of *Quito*, where he diſcovered in his Adverſity much greater Abilities, and many more Virtues than he had ſhewn in his Proſperity; and though his Forces were continually inferior to thoſe of the Rebels, yet his own Intrepidity joined to his Loyal Diſpoſition, which is natural to the *Spaniards*, enabled him to make a long Diſpute. At length, however, a deciſive Battle was fought between him and *Gonſalo Pizarro*

*Pizarro*, on the 19th of *January* 1546, in which the Viceroy being wounded, and taken Priſoner, had his Head ſtruck off; for whoſe Death, though done by his own Command, *Pizarro* hypocritically wore Mourning. Hence forward this Man behaved himſelf rather as a Sovereign Prince than as a Governor, buſying himſelf in amaſſing Wealth, and in taking all the Precautions he could think of for ſecuring himſelf and his Aſſociates from the Effects of the Royal Reſentment, which without Queſtion they had Reaſon to dread.

In the mean time, the Emperor, juſtly alarmed at the Conſequences of theſe Seditions, which threatened the Loſs of ſo conſiderable a Territory as that of *Peru*, came at length to a Reſolution of truſting rather to the Wiſdom of one Man than to the Force of many. This Man was the Licentiate *Peter de la Gaſca*, who had the Title of Preſident of the Royal Court of *Peru*, and a Commiſſion ſo ample, that had it not ſome way been limited by his Inſtructions, he would in Effect have had Royal Authority; but to balance this, he had neither Men nor Money, the Court truſting altogether, though ſurely not very prudently, to his great Capacity. He was in few Words a Man of unſhaken Courage, deep Prudence, mild Behaviour, unblemiſhed Probity, and abſolutely diſintereſted. He was not afraid to go in a Manner naked againſt inſolent and victorious Rebels; and all the Reward he demanded

manded for the Services he ſhould perform was, that having ſettled the Province in Peace, he might be at Liberty to depart into *Spain*.

*Gaſca* arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, and carried himſelf mildly, ſaying, he came not to make War, but, according to his Profeſſion, to make Peace, and revoked the Rigour of the Laws that cauſed the War. From *Panama* he ſent the Emperor's Letters, and writ himſelf to *Pizarro*, telling him, he was come to pardon all Offences, to draw him to Obedience, to give Satisfaction to his People; and, if he refuſed this Grace, to make War. *Pizarro* was enraged at the Receipt of theſe Letters, and would not ſuffer the Gentleman that brought them to ſit down, which the Gentleman took for a great Affront. *Pizarro* called for his Friends, to know what Anſwer to give the Preſident's Letter. *Carvajal*, the chief Incendiary, was abſent, and therefore it was hoped he would accept of Grace; yet every Man delivering his Opinion, ſome adviſed to take and raiſe *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*, that the Emperor might have no Place to receive his Men and Shipping; and they having all the Ships in the *South-Sea*, might without Fear keep *Peru* to themſelves, and then doubted not but to make *New Spain* revolt too, or at leaſt, they would rob all the Towns on the Sea-Coaſt, and live by Spoil and Rapine, which indeed they might have done

done, having the General of the Sea true to them.

*Pizarro* cunningly anſwered *Gaſca*'s Letter, by Conſent of thirty of his Men under their Hands, that they underſtood of his coming by *Hinojoſa*, General of the Sea, and the fair Shew of Good he pretended; but it was too late after ſo many Murders, occaſioned by the Viceroy's perſuading him to return to inform the Emperor, that they would receive no Governor but *Pizarro*, and offered to ſend ſome Man of Quality into *Spain* to make their Caſe known to the Emperor. *Carvajal* diverted *Pizarro* from all good Intentions, and would not ſuffer him to make any Acknowledgment to *Spain*. They ſent theſe Letters to *Gaſca*, and offered to give him a great Quantity of Money to return home; and if he refuſed it, they writ to their Admiral *Hinojoſa* to apprehend him. Theſe Letters being brought to *Panama*, put *Gaſca* in fear that he ſhould be killed, for they abſolutely refuſed to receive him in *Peru*. *Gaſca* dealt ſo cunningly with *Hinojoſa*, that he brought him to ſubmit himſelf and Fleet, and became a true Servant to the Emperor. This was the Overthrow of *Pizarro*, and *Hinojoſa* was continued General, and none of his Captains diſplaced. *Gaſca* now prepared again for War, and furniſhed himſelf for his Journey to *Peru*; and, before his Arrival, ſent a Pardon to all the common

common Sort. In his Expedition he carried himſelf courteouſly and friendly.

*Gaſca*'s Carriage, and the Submiſſion of the Ships, made a great Change amongſt the Rebels; for happy was he that could appear for the Emperor. *Pizarro* was much grieved to hear of theſe Alterations; but, like a courageous Captain, ſent to all his Friends to come to him with their Forces; but moſt part of them forſook him; and the Towns of *Lima*, *Cuſco*, and the reſt took part with the Emperor. When *John de Caſta* came to *Pizarro* to *Arequipa*, they conſulted what to do, having four hundred and fifty Men in the whole Country againſt them: He reſolved to go to *Chili*, where never *Spaniard* had been; but he was followed by one *Centeno*, with a loyal Party for the Emperor, between whom was fought a cruel Battle, *Pizarro* gaining the Victory; he loſt two hundred and twenty Men, and *Centeno* many more. *Centeno* fled, but the others having ſo great a Loſs did not follow him. *Pizarro*, upon the Victory, divided his Forces into ſeveral Parts. *Cepeda*, a principal Man of Account on his Side, perſuaded him to make Conditions with *Gaſca*, which he would not do, but was angry at the Motion, and grew ſuſpicious of him, who out of pure Kindneſs to him had made it.

*Gaſca* came into *Peru* with two thouſand Men, where he heard of the Overthrow *Pizarro* had given *Centeno*; and his Men being ſickly,

ſickly, and finding the Corn green, and not to be eaten, they were much diſcouraged; but *Centeno* coming with the Remainder of his Forces, put them into Heart; whereupon he went in the Purſuit of *Pizarro*, but had great Trouble in paſſing the River *Apurima*. But *Pizarro* being apprized of it, departed from *Cuſco* with a thouſand Soldiers. *Donna Maria Calderon*, ſpeaking againſt the Tyranny of *Pizarro*, *Fran. Calderon* entered her Chamber one Morning, and ſtrangled her in her Bed. Now came their Armies in view of one another, every one taking Advantage of the Place: *Gaſca* delayed giving Battle, in hopes that moſt of *Pizarro*'s Men would leave him, but they did not; and he being forced by Snow, Cold and Hunger, engaged in the Heat of the Action. *Cepeda*, (who as I ſaid before) adviſed to accept of Conditions, fled to *Gaſca*, which much diſheartned *Pizarro*'s Side. This Example, and others that did the like, made moſt of them yield. *Pizarro* ſeeing it, choſe rather to ſubmit than fly, and yielded himſelf to *Villa Vicentia*, Serjeant Major, who carried him to *Gaſca*. Never ſuch a Battle was fought, in which, the Heads and chief Commanders were Doctors and Scholars.

*Gaſca* ſent Forces to cut off thoſe that eſcaped in their Way to *Cuſco*, and to ſecure the Town. The Day following, being the 9th of *April* 1548, *Gaſca* committed the Cauſe of *Pizarro*, and other Offenders, to Judges, who

who condemned him and thirteen more to Death, whereof *Francis Carvajal* was one, and indeed the chief Promoter of all the Miſchief in thoſe Parts. He was eighty four Years of Age, and had been an Enſign in the Battle of *Ravenna*; he had ſerved under the great Captain *Gonçalo Fernandez*, and was the moſt noted Soldier in the *Indies*, yet never eſteem'd valiant or ſkillful. It was a By-word, *as cruel as Carvajal*, becauſe he had been the Executioner of four hundred *Spaniards*, *Pizarro* cauſed to be put to Death after *Blaſco Nunez* came into *Peru*, carrying Blacks with him continually for that Purpoſe. *Pizarro* was never overthrown, but in this Battle, though he had fought many. *Gaſca*'s Soldiers looked for a better Reward than was given them; though indeed they were well dealt with; yet they mutinied upon it, but were ſoon quieted again.

*Gaſca* took a Courſe for the Eaſe of the *Indians*, and to reduce them to the Chriſtian Religion; as alſo for the peaceable Government of the Kingdom. When *Gaſca* arrived at *Nombre de Dios* out of *Spain*, he brought not an hundred Men with him, nor had he any Money, but procured Credit, and at his going away paid all Debts, and carried with him to the Emperor almoſt two Millions; but for himſelf not a Penny, being the firſt Man in Authority that ever did the like; for Covetouſneſs was the Bane of all the *Spaniſh* Affairs,

Affairs, till his Time. Indeed any Nation muſt be quickly ruined where Men aſpire to Authority with no other View than to make themſelves rich.

As for this celebrated Governor, when he had thoroughly ſettled all things in *Peru*, he prepared for his Return into *Spain*, and came to *Panama*, having much Wealth there which he could not carry; but it happened that two Sons of *Rodrigo Contreras*, Governor of *Nicaragua*, with two hundred Soldiers, entered the Town, and took the Treaſure, and as much more as they could get. One of the two Brothers got himſelf with his Wealth into two or three Ships, the other followed *Gaſca*, thinking to rob and kill him. They murdered many, and ſlew a Biſhop, becauſe he ſent to their Father into *Spain* an account of their Villainies: They drew to them all factious and diſcontented People, that favoured the Party of *Pizarro*.

*Gaſca* hearing of thoſe Diſorders, returned with Speed, fought with, and overcame them; one of the Brothers was drowned in paſſing a River; he diſpatched Ships after the other, and took him and all his Wealth. This proved a fortunate Affair to *Gaſca*, and got him great Honour. He embarked at *Nombre de Dios* for *Spain* in 1550, with much Wealth for others, and Reputation to himſelf; his going, coming, and ſtaying, was little more than four Years. The Emperor made

him

him Biſhop of *Placentia*, and ſent for him to *Ausburg* in *Germany*, where he then lay, becauſe he would be informed from his own Mouth of all Proceedings, and the State and Condition of the People of the *Indies*.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of the Diſcovery of that Paſſage into the* South Seas, *which is called the* Streights *of* Magellan.

WE have now ſeen how after many hundred Years Diſcourſe of a new World maintained by ſome learned Men, and exploded by others, *Columbus* firſt thought the Deſign of finding it practicable, and as ſoon as his Propoſitions were accepted by the Court of *Spain*, actually ſailed to and diſcovered it. We have ſeen how *Baſco Nunez de Balboa* came firſt to gain the Knowledge of the *South Seas*, that is to ſay, of a Sea to the South of the new diſcovered Continent. We have ſeen how the great Empire of *Mexico*, containing the beſt Part of the Northern *America*, was ſubdued by *Cortez*; and how *Peru*, the moſt eminent Monarchy in South *America*, fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards* by the Means of the *Pizarros* and their Aſſociates. It remains that we give ſome Account of the Paſſage into the *South Seas* from

ours, and then the hiſtorical part of our Work will be brought to a proper Concluſion.

From the Time of the Diſcoveries made under the Catholick King's Commiſſions, the *Portugueze* were exceſſively jealous of their Poſſeſſions in the *Eaſt Indies*, till at length the Pope interpoſed, and by a Bull, which had a deciſive Authority among Princes of his own Communion, decreed all Countries diſcovered in the Eaſt to *Portugal*, and all ſuch as were found in the Weſt to *Spain*; yet this rather ſmothered than extinguiſhed the Flames of Contention, both Princes continuing to liſten willingly to any ſuch Propoſitions as tended to aggrandize one at the other's Expence; and this begat another Miſchief, which was, that ſuch enterprizing Men as were not gratified at one Court, immediately thought of applying themſelves to the other; which, whether a greater Inconvenience to theſe Princes, or Advantage to *Europe* in general, is not eaſy to be reſolved.

We have a particular Inſtance in this, in the Caſe of *Ferdinand de Magallanes*, whom we generally call *Magellan*, and *Ruy Falero*, both Natives of *Portugal*, and Men of very great Experience in the Art of Navigation. It is ſaid their Court differed with them about ſo very a Trifle as ſix Crowns *per Annum* in their Salaries; whereupon they retired to *Spain*, and made Propoſitions of new Diſcoveries to Cardinal *Ximenes*. The *Portugueze* Ambaſ-

Ambaſſador, who was a Man of Parts, employed all the Pains imaginable to defeat their Deſign. He ſolicited the Court to deliver them up as Fugitives; he got ſome Perſons to inform the Miniſtry that *Magellan* was a bold talkative Man, one ready to undertake any thing, but who wanted Capacity and Courage, when it came to Performance. Underhand he cauſed Application to be made to *Magellan* himſelf, offering him Pardon, and great Rewards, if deſiſting from his preſent Purpoſe he would go back and ſerve his own Prince. All this, however, ſignified very little, for theſe People expreſſed themſelves to the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry, who were now very able Judges in theſe Matters, in ſuch clear Terms, and with ſo much Probability, as to the Diſcovery they propoſed, that they were immediately received into Favour, made Knights of the Order of St. *James*, and had their own Terms granted them.

The Grounds they went upon were theſe: That the Poſition laid down by *Columbus*, of the Poſſibility of coming to the *Eaſt Indies* by ſailing Weſt was certainly true, though he had not brought it to bear; and that ſuch as derided that great Man's Notion, were not ſo well skilled in Navigation as he. That without queſtion it was very poſſible to ſail from the *South Seas*, which were but juſt then heard of, to the *Molucco Iſlands*; and that it was very probable, a Paſſage might be found into

thoſe Seas, through the *Rio de la Plata*, or ſome other Opening upon that Coaſt. That in caſe this could be done, *Spain* might reap the Profit of both *Indies*, ſince this Diſcovery being made from the Weſt would fall expreſsly under the Words of the Pope's Bull. In conſequence of theſe Propoſals, it was agreed that the Undertakers ſhould have the twentieth Part of the clear Profits; that the Government of any Iſlands they ſhould diſcover ſhould belong to them and their Heirs for ever, with the Title of *Adelantados*; and that farther, the Crown ſhould furniſh them with five Ships, and two hundred and thirty-four Men, with Proviſions for two Years.

The Fleet ſailed from *Seville* on the tenth of *Auguſt* 1519, under the ſole Command of *Ferdinand Magellan*, *Ruy Falero* being left behind on account of his ill Health. They ſailed firſt to the *Canaries*, and from thence to the Coaſt of *Guinea*; at which, the Captains under *Magellan*, were extremely offended; but he refuſed to give them any Satisfaction, telling them, their Duty was to follow him, and not enquire into his Inſtructions. Coming on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, he ſailed along Southwards, examining carefully all the Rivers and Bays he met with. The Weather growing extremely cold, eſpecially in the beginning of the Year 1520, and being haraſſed with continual Storms, the Sailors growing very uneaſy, in the Month of *April*,

*April* they came to the River of St. *Julian*, where they kept their *Eaſter*; but this being the Depth of Winter in thoſe Parts, and his Officers perceiving that *Magellan* intended to proceed towards the *Antartick* Pole, they remonſtrated againſt what they took to be a romantic Proceeding. On this Occaſion *Magellan* ſhewed himſelf both a wiſe and ſteddy Officer. He called all his People together, to whom he made a long Speech, inſiſting much on the incomparable Bravery of the *Spaniſh* Nation, and no leſs on the mighty Advantages which would accrue from their going through with this Undertaking. By this Means he made himſelf popular, and acquired Authority ſufficient to puniſh with remarkable Severity ſome Mutineers. In ſhort, in the beginning of the Month of *November*, after ſuffering incredible Hardſhips, he diſcovered in fifty-three Degrees South Latitude, thoſe Streights which have ſince born his Name, and will perpetuate his Fame to the End of the World.

Through theſe, on the 27th of *November*, he came into the South Seas, and though Proviſions became then very ſhort, he reſolved to continue his Courſe to the *Moluccas*; but in his Paſſage thither he landed on the Iſland *Zebu*, one of the *Philippines*, where he was well received by a *Pagan* Prince, whom he converted to Chriſtianity, but endeavouring to reduce the whole Iſland to the Obe-

dience of that Monarch, he was unfortunately killed in a Battle on the 27th of *April* 1581. His Death was of bad Conſequence to his People, who took upon them a Power of appointing and depoſing their Commanders, which brought moſt of them to Deſtruction.

However, *John Sebaſtian del Cano*, who commanded the Ship *Victory*, found means to bring home that Veſſel with about 35 Men on board to the Port of St. *Lucar*, on the 6th of *September* 1522, having ſpent three Years bating fourteen Days in this Voyage; and having the Honour to be the firſt who ſailed round the Globe, and thereby demonſtrating the Folly of thoſe who held the Opinion of *Antipodes* for a Fiction and a Hereſy.

The vaſt Cargo of Spices brought home by the *Victory*, and the Proſpect of carrying on a moſt beneficial Trade to the *Indies*, by this new Rout, engaged the *Spaniſh* Government to ſend in 1525, *Garcia de Loviſa*, a Knight of *Malta*, with ſeven Ships and four hundred and fifty Men to gain a more perfect Knowledge of theſe Streights. He paſſed them indeed, but it proved a moſt unfortunate Voyage, for by one Accident or other all the Ships were either ſtopped in *America*, or loſt in the *Moluccas*. The next Year, however, a *Genoeſe* Captain came to the Mouth of the Streights, and then was forced to return. *Sebaſtian Cabot*, in the Service of *Don Emanuel*,

*nuel*, King of *Portugal*, endeavoured to find the Streights of *Magellan*, but could not. *Americus Veſpuſius* was as unlucky, or rather more ſo, for he could not find the River of *Plate*. Many other Misfortunes happening in Proſecution of the ſame Deſign, it remained for many Years unthought of, till Sir *Francis Drake*, in the Year 1578, paſſed them happily. In 1586 Mr. *Cavendiſh* paſſed them. In 1593 Sir *Richard Hawkins* did the ſame; as did Captain *Davis*. In 1615 *Cornelius Van Schoton* ſailed from *Holland* on the ſame Deſign. He had on board him *James la Maire*; and becauſe they paſſed through a new Streight on the tenth of *January* 1616, he gave it his Name; ſince which the World has heard much leſs of the Streights of *Magellan* than before; theſe new diſcovered Streights being found much the ſafer of the two.

The beſt Deſcription we have of the Streight of *Magellan*, is that of our Countryman Sir *John Narborough*, who paſſed it in 1670, from which it appears to be extremely difficult and dangerous. On the one Side lies the Land of *Magellan*, which is Part of the Continent of *South America*, and on the other a very large Iſland called *Terra del Fuego*, or, *The Land of Fire*, from the Lights ſeen thereon in the Night, which were thought to be Fires lighted by the Inhabitants, but are ſince believed to proceed from a *Vulcano*.

*cano.* When *Magellan*, *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* paſſed theſe Streights, they took this *Terra del Fuego* to be Part of an unknown Continent, ſuppoſed to extend quite to the Pole. *La Maire* found it to be an Iſland, by ſailing round it, and called *The moſt Southern Cape*, from the Name of his Ship, *Cape Horn*, which has been ſince juſtly looked upon as the moſt Southern Point of Land on the Globe. After all theſe Diſcoveries, ſo late as in the Year 1713, a *French* Ship made a new one of the Streights of *St. Barbara*, in 57 d. 20 m. South Latitude. They ſailed through the Streights of *Magellan* till they came to that Height, and then inſtead of paſſing forward through that Part of the Channel, which Sir *John Narbrough* call'd *Crooked Reach* and *Long Reach*, they ſailed through another Channel opening to the Southward, much broader and ſafer, and which brought them with Eaſe into the *South Sea*. Hence it appears that this *Terra del Fuego*, at firſt thought a Continent, and then an Iſland, is in Fact, two Iſlands, a larger and a leſſer; and by this new Rout, a Ship may paſs from the *North* into the *South Sea* in twelve Days, at moſt, and with far leſs Inconveniency than either by the old Streights of *Magellan*, or the new ones of *La Maire*. This is a Thing of great Conſequence, eſpecially at this Time, when Expeditions to the *South Seas* are talk'd of, and therefore I have dwelt ſo long upon it; beſides the Thing in itſelf excuſes,

excuſes, and therefore I hope no farther Apology will be neceſſary to the Reader.

Thus we ſee in how ſhort a Space of Time after the new World was diſcovered, the whole of it from North to South was not only ſurveyed, but in a great Meaſure conquered and ſettled by the *Spaniards*, and very great Improvements they have made there ſince, though it is highly probable much greater would have been made, had this Country fallen into any other Hands but theirs. But to give a particular Account of this Matter will be the Buſineſs of the next Book, wherein we ſhall exhibit an exact Deſcription of the *Spaniſh America* from *Spaniſh* Writers, who are generally ſpeaking, very accurate, ſetting down what they publiſh from the authentic Accounts tranſmitted to the Government; whereas all we meet with in other Writers, which is not taken from them, is no better than hearſay, and therefore little to be depended on. If we intermingle leſs concerning the Attempts made by foreign Nations on the *Spaniards* in *America*, than many of our Readers might expect, the Reaſon is plainly this, becauſe our Deſign is to ſpeak ſtrictly of the Power of *Spain*, and therefore we can take Notice only how far that was affected, as to the Riſe and Progreſs of ſuch Expeditions they belong to thoſe Pens which are employed in deſcribing the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch* Conqueſts in the new World.

*End of the* FIRST BOOK.

# BOOK. II.

## CHAP. I.

### *Of the* Spaniſh America *in General.*

THE common Opinion that the King of *Spain* hath the largeſt Dominions of any Prince in the World, is ſo well founded, that no body hitherto has ventured to contradict it. His *American* Territories only are ſufficient to juſtify this Notion; and in Truth, when one conſiders the vaſt Extent and prodigious Riches of thoſe Provinces, one cannot but wonder that his Catholic Majeſty is not much more powerful than he appears to be. Without Queſtion this is owing to nothing but Errors in Government, which ſhould incline other Nations to beware of falling into a like Condition, through Luxury and Corruption, and ſhould alſo put them upon their Guard, with reſpect to a Potentate poſſeſſed of ſuch mighty Advantages, and who may ſome time or other come to have a Miniſtry capable of uſing and improving them.

In order to be convinced of the Truth of what I have advanced, we need only remember, that the *Spaniards* are poſſeſſed of far the greateſt and beſt Part of the Continent

of

of *America*. The whole Coaſt from thirty-ſeven Degrees of North Latitude, to fifty-three Degrees of South, is on one Side intirely theirs, and on the other, there are only the *Portugueze* Colonies in *Brazil*, with a few inconſiderable *French* and *Dutch* Settlements, but what belongs to them or to the Natives. In a Word, the *Spaniards* command in the *South Seas*, the moſt extended Coaſt in the new World; that is, from *Cape St. Sebaſtian*, the moſt Northern Point of *California*, to the Streights of *Magellan*, at leaſt two thouſand Leagues, or between ſix and ſeven thouſand Miles. They likewiſe poſſeſs the largeſt and moſt valuable Iſlands, *viz. Cuba*, Part of *Hiſpaniola* and *Port Rico*.

It is an Opinion commonly received amongſt us, that the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* are very unwholſom, but like many other general Propoſitions, this may be ſaid to be true and falſe at the ſame time. A very conſiderable Part of *Mexico* and *Peru*, are in the Torrid Zone; and yet where they have the Advantages of a favourable Situation, are both healthy and pleaſant. But beſides theſe, there are many fair Provinces in both the temperate Zones, neither can the habitable World boaſt of more delightful Regions than there are in the Kingdom of *New Mexico* in the North, and about *Buenos Ayres* in the South, as the Reader will be told more parti-

particularly hereafter. The Truth is, that the Country about *Porto Bello* is extremely aguiſh and unwholſom, and ſo is Part of the Sea Coaſt of *Peru*, by Reaſon of the great Rains which fall there, and the Want of Inhabitants, and from hence we form an Idea of the reſt, though very unjuſtly. Perhaps too the Luxury of the *Spaniards*, and the Inactivity of their Lives, may contribute to ſhorten their Days, and thereby diſcredit the Places they inhabit; but as it is certain, that the *Indians* before their Arrival, lived to a good old Age, and many who are temperate do ſo ſtill, I ſay all this conſidered, we may conclude, that if an active and induſtrious People were ſettled in theſe Countries, they would not be much incommoded by the Climate.

As to the Soil of theſe Countries in general, it is wonderfully rich and fruitful, producing Corn in abundance, and ſuch Paſtures as are no where elſe to be ſeen; Trees for Fruit, Beauty, and Uſe; Shrubs odoriferous, and of phyſical Virtues; Herbs and Roots in plenty; and in ſhort, every thing that can be ſought for, either grows naturally, or may with very little Pains be produced here. In the Boſom of the Earth all Sorts of Metals are found, eſpecially thoſe which Men value moſt, Silver and Gold. Springs and Rivulets are every where to be ſeen; and then for the Conveniency of Navigation, there

there are the nobleſt Rivers which the World can boaſt, ſuch as the River of *Plate*, the *Amazons* River, and many others which we ſhall particularly deſcribe, in ſpeaking of the Provinces through which they run.

If the *Spaniſh* Councils were turned for the Encouragement of Trade, there are in theſe Countries ſuch a vaſt Variety of valuable Commodities as might, one would think, furniſh the People poſſeſſed of them with inexhauſtible Treaſures; for beſides Gold and Silver, of which prodigious Quantities are annually exported, both from *Mexico* and *Peru*, here are Emeralds, Pearls, and various other precious Stones, not to ſpeak of Copper, and other baſer Metals, rich Drugs of all Kinds, Logwood, Santal, Redwood, and many other Sorts of Materials for dying. Tobacco, Ginger, Sweetmeats of all kinds, with a vaſt Variety of luxurious Articles; and then as to Things of more neceſſary Uſe, *Vigonia* Wool, the Hides from *Buenos Ayres*, Tortoiſe-ſhell, Indigo, and many more might be enumerated. Neither is the Country deficient in Sea Ports, eſpecially in the North Seas, where there are ſeveral ſafe, and ſpacious Harbours, beſides good Roads, Bays and Creeks. If theſe are in a great Meaſure wanting in the *South Seas*, the *Spaniards*, not without Reaſon, eſteem it an Advantage, becauſe it makes it the eaſier for them to defend that Coaſt againſt Strangers; and in Reſpect

ſpect of one Part of the Country trading with the other, this is no great Hindrance. Beſides they have a good Port for the carrying on of their *Eaſt India* Trade, which is what they chiefly value on this Side; and if ever they ſhould ſo far increaſe their Shipping as to make new Ports requiſite, Engineers would quickly put them in a Way to improve the imperfect Efforts of Nature. But while they continue to act on the Maxims which they have hitherto purſued, they are not likely to think their Havens on the *South Sea* too few.

We ought not to ſpeak of the Number of the Inhabitants, becauſe therein conſiſts the true Wealth and Strength of a Government, but beſides, that this will be, in ſome Meaſure, elſewhere examined, we muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that with any tolerable Accuracy, it is not eaſy to ſettle it at all. The *Spaniſh* Writers are remarkably ſilent on this Head; and as to what others report on this Subject, it deſerves leſs Credit than any other Part of their Relations, becauſe it is impoſſible that what they aſſert, ſhould conſiſt with their own Knowledge. This however is certain, that the *Spaniſh America* is but thinly peopled, if we conſider its Extent; and on the other Hand it ſeems to be as certain, that it is much better peopled than we commonly imagine, of which I will give two apparent Proofs. Sir *Francis Drake* made his firſt Expedition

pedition in 1578, and with a very ſlender Force acquir'd immenſe Riches, and did prodigious Damage to the *Spaniards*. In 1587, *Cavendiſh* did the like in a Veſſel of a 120 Tons, though he had not in her above thirty Men, landing in ſeveral Places, and bringing away as much Riches as he could carry. Theſe Succeſſes eſtabliſhed an Opinion that the *Spaniards* were very weak in thoſe Parts, yet all the following Expeditions which were undertaken with much greater Force, miſerably miſcarried, which induced that wiſe Princeſs Queen *Elizabeth* to reſtrain her Subjects from ſuch Attempts. This however did not diſcourage the *Dutch*, who in 1623, fitted out a grand Fleet for the *South Seas*. It conſiſted of fifteen ſtout Ships, and there were three thouſand pick'd Men on board. They came happily into thoſe Parts of the World, and made ſeveral Deſcents, but to no Purpoſe, being conſtantly repulſed, ſo that they returned with great Loſs and Shame. Our Country Man *Gage* perſuaded *Cromwell*, and indeed the *Engliſh* Nation, that the Conqueſt of the *Weſt Indies* was a very practicable Deſign, but it did not prove ſo in the Event; for though we made ourſelves Maſters of *Jamaica*, yet whoever conſiders the mighty Force that *Pen* and *Venables* had, will rather wonder that much more was not done, than admire what they did. So that it ſeems to be a thing out of Diſpute, that it is not ſo much

much the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, as the Weakneſs of their Councils, which have occaſioned their Loſſes in theſe Parts; and to ſay the Truth, we can ſcarce doubt of this, if we reflect that they have found a Way to make their *American* Colonies contribute to the Deſtruction of their Power at Sea, though the ſame Cauſe is the great Source of ours, and is the only one that can create a Naval Power to *France*. But to return to the Point, *viz.* the Number of People in the *Spaniſh* Settlements. A certain Author has gueſſed that there may be in the whole three Millions of *Spaniards*, *Meſtizos* and *Negros*, beſides which there are certainly a much larger Number of *Indians*. For though it may be, and without doubt it is true, that the *Spaniards* practiſed intolerable Cruelties, when they firſt arrived in theſe Parts, yet we are certain that this was done contrary to the expreſs Directions of their Catholic Majeſties, and that they have long ſince altered their Policy in this Reſpect, though many *Indian* Nations are ſtill their implacable Enemies, and ſo are likely to continue.

When theſe Countries were firſt reduced, the ſettling many Eccleſiaſticks might be a very proper Meaſure, ſince it is certain that they were in thoſe Days very zealous, not only in converting, but in protecting the *Indians*, interpoſing on all Occaſions in their Favour. But Times are altered ſince then,

and

and their Meaſures ſhould have altered accordingly. Monaſteries and Nunneries, if they are not contrary to the Spirit of Chriſtianity, are at leaſt incompatible with that of ſettling Colonies; and ſo they have been found. Prieſts, generally ſpeaking, proceed upon narrow and ſelfiſh Views, and ſo do all Religious Orders, particularly the Jeſuits, who therefore are the leaſt qualified for Miſſionaries, though deficient in no other Reſpect, which appears from their Conduct in *Paraguay*, where the Fathers have eſtabliſh'd a much more regular Government than ſubſiſts any where elſe in *America*, and are able to raiſe a greater Number of regular Troops in a Week, than could be aſſembled by the Viceroy of *Peru* in a Year, as appears by an authentic Memorial drawn up for the peruſal of the King of *Spain*, and which the Reader will find in the *Appendix*. The Corruption and Tyranny which reigns among all the Officers, who derive their Authority from the Crown, ſenſibly affects the State, ſince it not only ruins the Revenue, but diſcourages Induſtry, and extirpates public Spirit. An unaccountable Fondneſs for Gold and Silver is another Prejudice to the *Spaniſh* Settlements, has prevented the Government from encouraging new Diſcoveries, and ſpread ſuch a ſordid Spirit through all its Subjects, as is viſibly productive of the worſt Effects; for though Mines may be moſt bene-

ficial to the Sovereign, and to the Mother Country in the firſt Inſtance, yet taking all Things together, they are the leaſt ſo, of which the State of the *Spaniſh America* is the ſtrongeſt Proof.

Having now ſpoke of the Country in general, and taken a View of its Advantages and Diſadvantages, we will next deſcend to Particulars, and treat diſtinctly of all its ſeveral Provinces in their Order as they lye from North to South, contenting ourſelves with a bare Relation of Facts from the moſt authentic Authors, and reſerving Political Reflections, and whatever has Reſpect to Trade and Manufactures for the third Book. In the Proſecution of this Buſineſs, we ſhall, for the moſt Part, follow our old Guides the *Spaniſh* Writers, as to what regards the Inland Part of the Country, paying however a due Reſpect to what other Authors have written as to the Sea Coaſts, wherein, though they may not be better informed, yet are they certainly much clearer that the *Spaniſh* Geographers, who affect Obſcurity, and never deliver themſelves but in general Terms upon this Subject. For the ſame Reaſon perhaps which leads them to this Conduct, the Pilots never ſuffer any Stranger to have a Sight of their Charts, more eſpecially of thoſe Parts of their Empire which are leaſt known, and of which, as they are the firſt in the Order, we

we have laid down, we ſhall immediately treat, as fully and clearly as the beſt Materials we could collect, will allow.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of* California, *and the adjacent Iſles.*

IT is proper to begin with this, becauſe it is the moſt Northern Part of the new World, diſcovered, and in any Degree poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*. The Relations we have hitherto had of it are ſo confuſed, and ſo contradictory, that we preſume it will be doing the Public ſome Service, to give a diſtinct Account of this Country from authentic Memoirs, which we ſhall be able to perform, and thereby remove a Multitude of Abſurdities which have been hitherto currently reported of this extenſive Tract of Land.

The more Southern Part of *California* was known to the *Spaniards* very ſoon after the Diſcovery of *Mexico*, but it remained a hundred and twenty Years a Matter of Diſpute, whether it was an Iſland or a Peninſula. In *Sanſon*'s, and other Maps in good Credit, we ſee it laid down as an Iſland with a pretty wide Sea between it and the Continent of *New Mexico*. However in the lateſt Maps, particularly in one publiſhed in *Holland* in 1739, it is laid down as a Peninſula, as it really is. In 1595 the *Spaniards* ſent a Gal-

leon called *St. Auguſtine* to diſcover its Coaſts, but it was loſt in the Port *de los Reyes*, which prevented any farther Diſcovery at that Time. In 1602 the Count *de Monterey*, then Viceroy of *New Spain*, ſent *Sebaſtian Biſcaino* on the ſame Deſign with two Ships and a Tender: He ſailed as high as *Cape Mendocina*, which lies in 41°, 20′ N. L. whence he had a Sight of *Cape Blanco*, or the *White Cape*, which lies in 43°. In 1684 the Marquiſs *de la Laguna*, Viceroy of *New Spain*, ſent two Ships with a Tender, to diſcover the Lake of *California*, that is the Sea between it and *New Mexico*, of which however he obtained but a very indifferent Account. Thence forward the Opinion prevailed that *California* was not an Iſland, but Part of that vaſt Continent which joins *America* to *Aſia*. *F. Martin Martinez*, reports that while he was at *Peking* in *China*, a Chriſtian Woman of *Mexico* was brought thither as a Slave, who reported that ſhe had been brought thither all the Way by Land, except two Days that ſhe was in paſſing an Arm of the Sea, which is ſuppoſed to be the Streights of *Anian*. Be this as it will, we owe to Father *Caino*, a *German* Jeſuit, the Certainty that *California* joins to the Continent of *New Mexico*. He landed in the former from the Iſland of *Sumatra*, and paſſed into the latter without croſſing any other Water than *Rio-Azul*, or the *Blue River*, into

into which the *Rio Colorado* falls in about 35° N. L. ſo that this Matter is now entirely out of Diſpute, after having long exerciſed the Conjectures of the Learned.

According to the beſt Maps we have, *California* extends from 23° 40′ to 45° N. L. Its utmoſt Extent from North to South, that is, from the Streight diſcovered by *Martin Aguilar* to Cape *St. Lucas*, it muſt be near eight hundred Miles. Its Breadth is very unequal, for towards the North it is two hundred Miles broad, but it tapers away towards the South, where it is hardly above fifty Miles over. It is bounded on the North by an unknown Continent, on the Eaſt, by the Province of *New Mexico*, and the Lake of *California*, or, as ſome call it, the *Vermilian Sea*, and by the great *Pacific* Ocean on the South and Weſt.

As it lies almoſt altogether in the temperate Zone, it is eaſy to conceive that the Climate cannot be very immoderate. In the Summer however, they experience great Heats on the Coaſt, but the Inland Part is very temperate, and in the Winter it is pretty cold.

The Country is finely diverſify'd with Plains and Mountains, well wooded and watered. Its Soil very fruitful, abounding with Fruit Trees, and producing, when planted, all the Kinds of Grain which grow in *Europe*: There are two Kinds of Deer peculiar to the Country. All Sorts of Fowls and Birds, com-

mon either in *Europe* or the *Indies*, abound here; there is alſo prodigious Plenty of Sea and River Fiſh; and in a Word, a more plentiful Country cannot be wiſhed for. That there are Mines is very probable, though not certain, but it is known that here is one of the richeſt Pearl Fiſheries in the World, ſo that it is not eaſy to gueſs why no more Pains has been taken to ſettle ſo advantageous a Tract of Land. It has ſeveral ſmall Rivers, and two pretty conſiderable ones, *viz. Rio Collerado*, and *Rio du Carmel*, a great Variety of fine Ports, both on the Eaſt and Weſt Side, with Bays, Creeks, and Roads innumerable, which is the Reaſon why it was ſo much frequented by our Privateers in the *South Seas*.

The Natives of the Iſland, who are ſtill in Poſſeſſion of it have been differently characterized by our Writers and by the *Spaniards*; it is therefore ſafeſt to rely on what Father *Caino* tells us concerning them, becauſe he converſed longer with them, and more familiarly than any other Perſon who has left us Memoirs. He informs us, that theſe People, who are tolerably well made, and very ingenious, live without Houſes, contenting themſelves with the Shade afforded them by Trees in the Summer, and dwelling in Caves in the Winter. They are not altogether void of Religion, ſince they have been obſerved to kneel and pray on the firſt

Appearance

Appearance of the New Moon, and to ſhew a great Docility in receiving the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, which however no great Pains has been taken to propagate amongſt them. As to Government, they are abſolutely in a State of Nature, every Man is both a Sovereign and a Legiſlator in his own Family, which is attended with great Inconveniencies, there being continual Feuds amongſt them, which break out ſometimes into Broils and Bloodſhed. The Men go, for the moſt Part naked, except a Fillet of fine Cloth about their Temples, and certain Bracelets of Pearl, which are very beautifully wrought. The Women are better cloathed; for, beſides an Ornament on their Heads, they wear generally a Mantle of Skins over their Shoulders, a Piece of Cloth girt round their Bodies, and Chains of Pearls on their Necks and Arms. Such as live on the Eaſtern Side, on the Shore of the *Vermilian Sea*, are Enemies to the *Spaniards*, who very probably have given them Cauſe. But in other Parts of the Iſland, they ſeem extremely well diſpoſed to entertain any Strangers, and might, without much Difficulty, be converted and civilized; but as they are very numerous, and their Country of great Extent, one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the *Spaniards* have declined ſending Miſſionaries, through Fear that the People, when civilized, might either prove dangerous Neighbours, or by cultiva-

ting their Lands, invite Strangers to ſettle amongſt them.

There are in *California* two Curioſities, which as they are well ſupported in Point of Authority, deſerve to be taken Notice of. After the Rainy Seaſon is over, there falls in the Morning a great Quantity of Dew, which ſettling upon Roſe Leaves, candies and becomes hard like Manna, having all the Sweetneſs of Sugar, though it is not ſo white, and conſequently not ſo pleaſant to the Eye. In the Heart of the Country, there are Plains of Salt quite firm and clear as Cryſtal, which, conſidering the vaſt Plenty of Fiſh of all Sorts, which are alſo found there, might prove of great Advantage to any civilized People who were poſſeſſed of this Country. But it does not appear that the Natives make any Uſe of this Salt for curing their Fiſh, which they generally eat raw, as they alſo do Fleſh and Roots.

The *Spaniards* for a long Tract of Time, wholly neglected this valuable Peninſula, and it is but very lately that they had any Settlement there. At preſent they have only a Village in its Southern Extremity, near Cape *St. Lucas*, which is called by the Name of the Place itſelf, *California*. The *Manila* Ships touch here ſometimes in their Courſe to *Acapulco*, and no doubt, in Time, this will become a very conſiderable Place by their trading with the *Indians* for Pearl.

There

There are many ſmall Iſlands on the Coaſts of *California*, both in the *Pacific* Ocean, and in the *Vermilian Sea*, ſuch as the Iſland of *St. Catherine*, of *St. Clement*, of *Paxaros*, of *St. Anne*, of *Cedars*, ſo called from the great Number of thoſe Trees which grow thereon, and which are of an uncommon Size. But the Iſles which are moſt known, are three which lie off Cape *St. Lucas*, toward the *Mexican* Coaſt, theſe are called *las tres Marias*, i. e. *The three Marys*; they are but ſmall, have good Wood and Water, abundance of Game, Salt Pits, as in *California*, and therefore the *Engliſh* and *French* Pyrates have ſometimes winter'd here, when cruizing in the *South Seas*. We will conclude this Article with obſerving that Captain *Dampier*, propoſed, with great Judgment, ſeeking a North Weſt Paſſage, by doubling Cape *Blanco*, the moſt Northern Point in *California*; a Propoſition which deſerves to be maturely conſidered.

## CHAP. III.

### *Of the Kingdom, or Province of* New Mexico.

THIS Region, which the *Spaniards* ſometimes call the Kingdom, and ſometimes the Province of *New Mexico*, lies to the Eaſt of *California*, and was formerly ſuppoſed

poſed to be divided from it, by that called the *Purple*, or *Vermilian Sea*, which is no other than an Arm of the *Pacific* Ocean, running up between it and *California*, and is now generally called the *Lake*.

This Country, which is of very great Extent, is bounded on the North by very high Mountains, beyond which lies a Country altogether unknown. On the Eaſt, it has the new diſcovered Country of *Louiſiana*; on the South, ſome of the Provinces of the Kingdom of *Mexico*; on the Weſt, the *Vermilian* Sea, and the *Rio Colorado*, which ſeparate it from *California*. According to the beſt Maps, it lies between 32° and 45° of N. L. and between 260° and 273° of Longitude. In Length, from North to South, it is upwards of nine hundred *Engliſh* Miles, and in ſome Places is near ſix hundred broad, though in others it is much narrower. Some Geographers divide it into fifteen, many of the *Spaniſh* Writers into eighteen Provinces, of which they give us barely the Names. The lateſt Maps ſeem to divide it only into five.

Its Climate is extraordinary pleaſant, as lying in the midſt of the temperate Zone, the Summers very warm, and the Winters pretty ſharp; but then the former are neither ſtifling nor unwholeſome, the latter clear, and by no means intemperate. The Rains do not fall here ſo heavily as in *California*; but the Weather is generally

ſpeaking

ſpeaking agreeable to the Seaſon, and refreſhing to a *European* Conſtitution.

As to the Soil, it is wonderfully good, abounding with Fruit and Timber Trees, and beautifully interſperſed with riſing Grounds and Rivers. All Sorts of wild and tame Cattle, eſpecially Cows are found here in abundance. Fowl is very plenty, the Rivers well ſtored with Fiſh; and, in one Word, this is as pleaſant, plentiful, and rich a Country as *America*, or indeed any other Part of the World affords.

There is great Plenty of Water, though few great Rivers in *New Mexico*, ſuch as the *Rio Salado*, the *Rio del Norte*, or the *North River*, which runs the whole Length of the Country, and then turning to the Eaſt, paſſes thro' the Province of *New Leon*, where it falls into the Gulph of *Mexico:* There are alſo ſeveral little Rivers which run into the Sea of *Mexico*, and ſeveral Bays and Creeks on that Coaſt, which, if the *Spaniards* deſired, might eaſily be converted into Ports; but, as we ſhall preſently ſee, this is not like to happen.

The greateſt Part of this extenſive Territory is ſtill in the Hands of the Natives, who though they are an eaſy, peaceable, and generous People, yet were not only more numerous, but better provided for their Defence than any other Inhabitants of the New World which the *Spaniards* had met with. Theſe

People

People were well cloathed, cultivated their Lands, had large Stocks of Cattle, tolerable Huts in their Villages, and good Stone Houſes in their Towns when the *Spaniards* firſt arrived here, which was about the Year 1539. They were Idolaters, worſhipping the Sun and Moon; and as to Government, they had their petty Princes or Caciques, whom they choſe for their Wiſdom and Valour. Theſe People ſhewed a greater Readineſs to embrace the Chriſtian Religion than any other of the *American* Nations, but withal did not diſcover any kind of Willingneſs to part with their Liberty, which in a great Meaſure they ſtill preſerve. The *Spaniſh* Authors ſpeak of various Nations in this large Country, but the principal are the *Apaches*, who are diſtinguiſhed by the Places of their Settlement. About the latter End of the laſt Century, conceiving themſelves aggrieved by the *Spaniſh* Governor, they made a general Inſurrection, and did a prodigious deal of Miſchief, but were at laſt appeaſed, and better Garriſons have been kept there ſince.

The Capital of all this Country is the City of *Santa Fé*, ſeated on the *Rio del Norte*, in 36° of N. L and in the Longitude of 272°. It is ſaid to be a well built rich City; but ſtanding at the Diſtance of one hundred and thirty Leagues from the Sea, it cannot be expected that we ſhould have a good Account of it; beſides this, the *Spaniards* have many

other

other Towns of Note which are unneceſſary for us to mention. The whole is under a particular Governor, who reſides at *Santa Fé*, and who ought to have always a ſtanding Force of ſix hundred Horſe, for which he receives from the Crown conſtant Pay. There are Mines both of Gold and Silver in this Province, which are held to be extraordinary rich; but the *Spaniards* carry the Plate, and Horſes and Mules over Land, and affect a great deal of Caution whenever they write of this Country, whether it be that they are apprehenſive of the Natives, or afraid that Strangers ſhould attempt any thing by making Deſcents on the Side next *California* is uncertain. Thus much however we know, that Turkoiſes, Emeralds, and other precious Stones are brought from thence to *Mexico*, where they are much eſteemed and looked upon as much better than thoſe which are found in other Parts of the *Spaniſh America*. The Governor enjoys his Poſt for five Years, and then has a Succeſſor ſent him, which is probably the Reaſon he is ſo much devoted to his own Intereſt, and ſo careleſs of that of the Public. Since the Acceſſion of *Philip* V. Orders have been tranſmitted to the Viceroy of *Mexico* to ſend a certain Number of poor Families into theſe Northern Provinces, which was certainly a very wiſe Step, ſince the beſt way of providing for the Safety of any Country is to people it.

The

The *Spaniards* are naturally cautious, and ſometimes more ſo than they need; but in this Caſe they are certainly in the right. *Dampier* more than once mentions the Poſſibility of penetrating to the Gold Mines by making a Deſcent on the Shore oppoſite to *California*. On the other Side, if ever the *French* ſhould become numerous in their Settlements on the River *Miſſiſſippi*, the *Spaniards* will run no ſmall Hazard from their Neighbourhood, as muſt readily appear to any Man who conſiders with what Addreſs the *French* have fixed themſelves in *St. Domingo*. But if there were annual Draughts of People ſent into *New Mexico*, and there ſettled in convenient Farms, they would quickly grow populous, it being natural for Mankind to increaſe more in cold than in hot Countries, eſpecially where the Conveniencies of Life are to be had with Eaſe.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Of* Florida, *and the Iſlands belonging thereto.*

WE have already obſerved that this Country was firſt ſeen by *Cabot*, and afterwards more thoroughly diſcovered by *John Ponce de Leon*, to whom it owes its Name. It coſt a great deal of Trouble before any Settlement could be made therein, and even

even now it is but a narrow and inconſiderable Province, at leaſt in reſpect to the *Spaniards*; though it might be of infinite Advantage either to us or to the *French*, of which its preſent Maſters are not a little apprehenſive. Heretofore, when they were ſtronger, they pretended to queſtion the Right, both of the *Engliſh* and the *French* to their Settlements on the Main; but now the Tables are turned, and inſtead of plundering others, they are in pain for their own Poſſeſſions.

The *Spaniſh* Province of *Florida* is bounded on the North by Mountains, and by the *French* Settlements behind them. On the Eaſt, by *Carolina*, and the Channel of *Bahama*; on the South, by the Gulph of *Mexico*; and on the Weſt, by the *French* Settlements. Thus it is in a manner cut off from the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Settlements, and will be more effectually divided from them in proportion as the *French* increaſe.

The Air is pure and temperate, and the Country, generally ſpeaking, healthy; the Heats are indeed ſometimes very great, but they are allayed by the Sea Breezes, and towards the *Apalatchi* Mountains the Air is generally cool. Hence it is ſuppoſed the Natives derived that Firmneſs of Conſtitution which diſtinguiſhes them from other *Indians*, as well as their extraordinary Size, being larger, and more robuſt than the *Mexicans*, as alſo longer lived.

The

The Soil is rich and fruitful, abounding with all Sorts of Timber and Fruit Trees, eſpecially Pines, Laurels, Palms, Cedars, Cypreſs and Cheſnut Trees, but above all, Saſſafras is here in the greateſt Plenty; and great Quantities are exported annually from hence. The Land produces alſo Corn, Roots, and Herbs in great Abundance with little Labour. Fleſh, Fowl, and Fiſh, are alſo plenty, or at leaſt they might be ſo, if thoſe who are ſettled in the Country were at all induſtrious; and where People are not ſo, it is impoſſible they ſhould have Plenty.

The Country is well watered, but it muſt be owned there are no convenient Ports on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, the Shore being full of Shoals and Sands, which, however, the Weakneſs of their Colonies conſidered, may poſſibly paſs for an Advantage, at leaſt it has actually proved ſo, as often as they have been attacked; but perhaps no Government but their own would truſt ſo much to ſo precarious a Defence, eſpecially when Experience muſt have put their Enemies upon providing againſt it for the future.

The Natives of this Country are of an Olive Colour, robuſt, agile, and extremely well proportioned; they go naked, both Men and Women, except only a Deer-ſkin round the Middle; but, to preſerve themſelves from the Injuries of the Weather, they are painted with certain Juices which leave indelible Marks.

Marks. They have long black Hair, which falls down upon their Shoulders, but they have a Method of combing, curling and twiſting it about their Heads, ſo as to make it look very agreeable and becoming. The Weapons they uſe are Bows and Arrows, which they manage with great Dexterity. The Women are alſo remarkably graceful and well ſhaped. They are not only capable of performing all domeſtic Offices, but alſo of bearing their Huſbands Company when they go either to hunt or to War. On theſe Occaſions they will ſwim over broad Rivers with their Children on their Backs. The *Spaniards* charge theſe People with abundance of Vices, and though ſome have ſuſpected a little Partiality in what they ſay concerning them, yet I find all who have had any thing to do with them agree that they are a bold, ſubtle, and deceitful Nation. As an Inſtance of this, I cannot but take Notice of a Fraud practiſed by them, which one would ſcarce expect from ſuch unpoliſhed People. There are frequently Pieces of Ambergreaſe found upon their Coaſts, and the *Europeans* being ready to purchaſe them at a round Rate, the *Indians* have found a way to counterfeit Ambergreaſe, and that ſo well, as to cheat all who are not very good Judges.

As to Religion, they are bigotted Idolaters, worſhipping the Sun and Moon as ſupreme Deities, and bearing an irreconcileable Hatred

to all Chriſtians. In reſpect to Government, they have their Chiefs or Heads of Clans, to whom they are very ſubmiſſive. Such a little Prince is ſtyled by them, *Paraouſti*; he commands in chief, in time of War, and preſides in their Councils in time of Peace. Though Polygamy is not in uſe with the reſt of the Nation, yet their Princes are indulged in having three or four Wives; but the Children of the firſt only are eſteemed legitimate, and capable of Succeſſion. Their Prieſts, whom they ſtyle *Jaoïnas*, have alſo a great Influence over them, and well they may, for they act in no leſs than three Capacities, *viz.* as Prieſts, Prophets, or rather Conjurers, and Phyſicians. Theſe Men are clad in long Robes made of Skins, preſerve always a very grave Appearance, ſpeak little, live very abſtemiouſly, and in ſhort take all the neceſſary Precautions to maintain that Empire they have gained over the Minds of their Countrymen. As Prieſts, they pray and ſacrifice to the Sun; as Magicians, they pretend to foretel the Succeſs of all Expeditions, *&c.* and as Phyſicians, they bleed, bathe, vomit, and ſweat the Sick till they either cure or kill them; and in either Caſe expect a Reward.

The *Spaniards*, as they have always lived in a State of War with theſe *Indians*, ſo they have conſtantly repreſented them in the blackeſt Colours, though ſuch of our Countrymen as have had any thing to do with them, affirm they

they are not ſo bad, except as to their Subtilty and Propenſity to Fraud, of which they have more than any other Natives of *America*.

The only Towns or Places of Strength, which the *Spaniards* are poſſeſſed of, or have been poſſeſſed of for a long Time in *Florida*, are St. *Auguſtine* and St. *Mattheo*. As to the former, it is ſeated in the Latitude of about 30°, and lies along the Shore at the Bottom of a Hill, in the Form of a Parallelogram, the Streets cutting each other at right Angles. About a Mile North from the Town ſtands the Caſtle, defended by four Baſtions. The Fortifications heretofore were bad, but have been lately repaired, and the Place furniſhed with fifty Pieces of Cannon, ſixteen of which are Braſs, beſides thoſe which are in the Town, fortified alſo of late by ſome Intrenchments. In 1586, when this Place was ſcarce ſettled, Sir *Francis Drake* took and pillaged it. In 1665 it was taken again by Capt. *Davis* at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Buccaneers. As for St. *Mattheo*, which was a leſs conſiderable Place than St. *Auguſtine*, it lies fifteen Leagues North from thence, and was beſieged by us, when we were laſt at War with the *Spaniards*, but with little Advantage, not to ſay any worſe of that Attempt.

In the Year 1702, the People of *Carolina* formed a Deſign of conquering what the *Spaniards* ſtill hold in *Florida*, and actually undertook it under the Command of Colonel

*Moor* their Governor. It cannot be ſuppoſed that he could raiſe a very great Body of Troops, conſidering the Limitations our Governors in the *Weſt Indies* are under, and that he was to march no leſs than three hundred Miles by Land. However, his Forces conſiſted of at leaſt five hundred *Engliſh*, and ſeven hundred *Indians*. He ruined the Farms and Villages in the open Country, and beſieged St. *Auguſtine* three Months, at the end of which Time the *Spaniards*, who were ſlow enough in all their Motions, ſent ſome Ships to its Relief, and on their firſt Appearance Colonel *Moor* raiſed his Siege, and retired precipitately, though in all Probability, if he had continued in his Camp, the *Spaniards* might not have thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attack him. This ſo effectually diſcouraged the People of *Carolina*, that tho' the War between us and the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* continued ten Years after, yet they attempted nothing farther; and indeed their Diſtance, and the Difficulties they were under, and which have been ſince removed, leave us no great Cauſe to wonder at the Conduct they purſued.

The ſettling a Colony in *Georgia* in 1733, put Things in this Part of the World into quite a new Situation. The *Spaniards* were uneaſy, and apprehenſive of our growing Power in *Carolina*, and muſt conſequently be much more alarmed when the Danger drew

drew nearer. The *Spaniſh* General of *Florida* therefore began to make Diſpoſitions for a Rupture, and to talk very high, and yet on farther Conſideration in 1736, he thought proper to conclude and ſign a Treaty with an *Engliſh* Officer ſent to treat with him; for which, as I have been well informed, he was actually ſent for over into *Old Spain*, and there executed. Since the breaking out of the War, in which we are at preſent engaged, *viz.* in *April* 1740, General *Oglethorpe* undertook the Reduction of this Place, in order to which, he marched with a conſiderable Body of *Engliſh* Troops, and a much larger of *Indians*. The Particulars of this Expedition have as yet never been publiſhed by Authority, and therefore I ſhall not inſiſt upon it long. The *Spaniſh* Governor, it ſeems, was a Man of great Experience, and having long had Intelligence of the Viſit deſigned him, had increaſed his Forces to near a thouſand Men. The *Engliſh* ſeemed to have taken Poſſeſſion of too many Places, ſome of which were probably abandoned to them with that View. This afforded the *Spaniſh* Officer an Opportunity of cutting off about one hundred and thirty Men, who were poſted in the Negro Fort, under the Command of Colonel *Palmer*. This Diſaſter, together with the apparent Impoſſibility of doing any great Execution by the Batteries which had been raiſed on the Iſland of *Euſtatia*, occaſioned

the raiſing of the Siege toward the latter End of *June*, and thereby put an End to the high Expectations which had been raiſed, from this Undertaking, which if it had ſucceeded, muſt have been attended with very extraordinary Circumſtances; of which, as my Subject is the *Spaniſh* Settlements only, I chuſe to ſay no more at preſent.

There is nothing more certain than that the *Spaniſh Florida* is as good and fruitful a Country as any in *America* without Exception; and yet it is altogether as certain, that the Inhabitants are poor and miſerable to the laſt degree, which muſt be owing to the wretched Conduct of their Government in theſe Parts, and muſt prove fatal to them ſooner or later, ſince if ever this Province falls either into our Hands or into thoſe of the *French*, their Navigation will be very precarious, and the Wealth of the Iſle of *Cuba* be no longer tranſported to *Spain*. For, as heretofore the Inhabitants of that Iſle received great Supplies of Corn and other Proviſions from *Florida*, which they now have from *La Vera Cruz*, ſo, were it again ſettled by an induſtrious People, they would undoubtedly cultivate their Lands, and tranſport the Product of them into the adjacent Iſle of *Cuba*, where the People are frequently afflicted with Dearths, in ſpite of all the Precautions can be taken to prevent it. It muſt be own'd, that all the Coaſt is ſo ſhallow,

that

that no Port, capable of receiving great Ships could be made. But as leſſer Veſſels may anchor ſafely under the Guns of Fort St. *Auguſtine*, it is not to be doubted that even with theſe the *Spaniards* might be kept exceedingly in Awe, were they once to loſe the ſmall Poſſeſſions they had here; and this it is that makes them ſo exceſſively uneaſy about their new Colony of *Georgia*.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Audience of* Guadalajara, *or* New Gallicia.

THE vaſt Country of *North America*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, antiently ſtyled the Empire of *Mexico*, is now called *New Spain*; and though the whole be under the Obedience of one Viceroy, yet for the Sake of its being more eaſily governed, it is divided into three Audiences, *viz. Guadalajara*, *Mexico*, and *Guatimala*. Of theſe, that which we are now to ſpeak of, lies fartheſt to the North, though on the Coaſt of the *South Seas*.

It lies between 20° and 30° N. L. and between 268° and 273° of Longitude. On the North it is bounded by the Kingdom of *New Mexico*, on the Weſt by ſeveral Provinces of the Audience of *Mexico*, on the South by other Provinces of the ſame Audience, and on

the Eaſt its Shore is waſhed by the *South Sea*. As it lies part in the temperate, part in the torrid Zone, its Climate differs pretty much; however, generally ſpeaking, it is eſteemed wholeſome, and is certainly far more temperate than any Part of *New Spain* beſides. The Soil is generally mountainous and woody, ſo that the Coaſt looks like a Deſart, yet it is indifferently fruitful, produces *European* and *Indian* Grain in Plenty; many valuable Drugs, and very rich Silver Mines. On the Coaſt alſo there is a good Pearl Fiſhery.

This Country was diſcovered, or at leaſt ſettled by *Nuno de Guzman* 1531. He found it inhabited by a brave and bold People, well armed, well cloathed, and who defended themſelves obſtinately againſt the *Spaniards*. Their Towns were tolerably well built and furniſhed, neither were the People at all barbarous, but managed both civil and military Affairs with great Addreſs and Regularity; however, the *Spaniſh* Writers charge them with ſome horrid and unnatural Vices, which is the more extraordinary, conſidering it is alſo affirmed that their Women were very beautiful, and of very engaging Behaviour. As it is well known theſe Conquerors treated them but roughly, ſeized their Lands, and deſtroyed their Perſons, it is no great Wonder, that in order to colour this, they have dealt pretty freely with their Characters, which they might the more readily be tempted

ed to, becauſe they had a moral Certainty that theſe poor Creatures never could have Juſtice done them by any impartial Pen.

This Audience is ſubdivided into ſeven Provinces; the firſt of theſe is *Cinaloa*, which lies next to the Kingdom of *New Mexico*, on the Shore of that called the *Vermilian Sea*. The Capital of this Province is the City of St. *John*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the Coaſt; behind this Province lies that of *New Biſcay*, which has no Communication with the Sea; however, the Inhabitants of it are very rich, not only in Corn, Cattle, and other ſuch like Commodities, but in Silver alſo, of which there are very rich Mines, in the Neighbourhood of the City of St. *John* of *Biſcay*, its Capital; beſides which, there is another conſiderable Town called St. *Barbara*. Adjoining to this Province is that of the *Zacatecas*, ſo called from its ancient Inhabitants; it is alſo an inland Province, well inhabited, and abounding with large Boroughs, of which the principal are *San Luis de los Zacatecas*, almoſt under the Tropic of Cancer, *Durango*, a Biſhop's See, and a great Town called *Nombre de Dios*. The next Maritime Province to *Cinaloa* is called *Culiacan*, and lies to the South; its capital City hath the ſame Name. Next to it, immediately under the Tropic of *Cancer*, ſtretched along the *South Seas*, lies the Province of *Chiametlan*, the Capital of which is *Aquacara*. The moſt

ſouthern

ſouthern Province on the Coaſt is that of *Xaliſco*, in which, beſides the Capital of the ſame Name, is a very conſiderable Town called *Campoſtella*. Behind this Province, yet ſo as that a Corner of it touches the Sea, lies that of *Guadalajara*, properly ſo called, having for its Capital a City of the ſame Name, which is alſo the Head of the whole Audience, and the Seat of the Royal Courts of Juſtice; beſides this, it is a Biſhop's See of a conſiderable Revenue, and very pleaſantly ſeated on the Banks of the River *Baranja*, and to the North of the Lake of *Chapala*, which is ſaid to be forty Leagues in Compaſs.

It muſt be owned, that this is but a very ſhort and dry Deſcription of ſo large a Country, yet this may be the more eaſily excuſed, when it is conſidered that very few of our Writers ſay any thing of it at all; and even the *Spaniſh* Writers treat very ſuperficially, becauſe, as they report, it is a Part of their Dominions which has but very little Trade; but I have Reaſon to believe that their Silence proceeds from wiſer Motives. In ſhort, ſome of our Bucaneers who had been taken in theſe Parts about forty Years ago, have left with their Friends in *Jamaica*, Accounts of another Nature, which in few Words amount to this. The Sea Coaſts are purpoſely deſerted by the *Spaniards*, that Strangers may not be able to find any thing that may tempt them to land, or if they do land out of Curioſity, may not know

know what to do next. The Ground of theſe Precautions is, not only ſeveral Silver Mines, which we have mentioned before, but alſo ſome of Gold, lately found in the Neighbourhood of *Campoſtella*, of very great Value. The Ore they chuſe to tranſport by Mules to *Mexico*, rather than expoſe ſo valuable a Commerce to be intercepted by Foreigners, which might very well happen if they ventured to ſend it in ſmall Veſſels by Sea.

The *Spaniards* are not very numerous throughout this whole Audience, except in the two great Cities of *Guadalajara* and *Campoſtella*. The *Meſtizo's*, however, make a conſiderable Figure in point of Number and Eſtate, but the Bulk of the People are the Natives, who are, generally ſpeaking, well treated here, becauſe they are not of a Temper to be treated otherwiſe; and the Effects are anſwerable to ſo good a Cauſe, ſince they are viſibly braver and politer than any of their Countrymen, and for all that appears, are well affected to the *Spaniards*, chiefly through the Inſtigation of their Prieſts, for whom they have a great Eſteem; though they are far from being ſuch Slaves to them as in other Parts of *New Spain*. Not only the Natives, but the *Spaniards* live here to great Ages; and as they drain the Marſhes, and thin the Woods, it is obſerved that the Climate grows daily better and better, inſomuch that many remove hither

hither from other Parts of the Empire of *Mexico*.

## CHAP. VI.

### Of *the Audience of* Mexico.

THIS which is by far the nobleſt Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, hath on the North, the Country of *Florida*, on the Eaſt the North Sea, or Bay of *Mexico*, on the South, the Audience of *Guatimala*, the Gulph of *Honduras*, and on the other Side the *South Sea*, on the Weſt, the Audience of *Guadalajara*. Its Extent is very great, its Soil fruitful, and though under the *Torrid Zone*, its Climate indifferently cool, rich in all Sorts of deſirable Commodities, Gold, Silver and Precious Stones not excepted. In order however to have a juſt Notion of this noble Country, it will be requiſite to conſider it as at preſent divided into ſeven Provinces, of each of which I will ſpeak as clearly, and at the ſame time, as conciſely as poſſible.

The firſt of theſe is the Province of *Mechoacan*, of very conſiderable Extent. It is bounded on the North by the Province of *Panuco*, and that of *Guadalajura*, on the Eaſt by *Panuco*, and *Mexico Proper*, on the South by the laſt mentioned Province, and the *South Soa*, which alſo bounds it on the Weſt. The Climate is extrordinary good, and

and the Soil wonderfully fertile, which makes it ſo wholeſome that ſick People go from other Parts of *Mexico* to recover their Health there. It abounds with Lakes, Rivers and Rills of clear brackiſh Water, which are of admirable Uſe; for though the Meadows through which they run abound with a rank Kind of Graſs, yet it is never found to prejudice their Cattle, but like other Salt Marſhes, makes them extraordinary fat and fine. They have alſo a numerous Breed of good Horſes, fit both for the Saddle and Draught. All Sorts of Fiſh are there in the utmoſt Plenty, as the Name of this Province imports; for though we call a certain Drug which grows there *Mechoacan*, yet in the *Indian* Language that Word ſignifies a Place abounding with Fiſh. Corn of all Sorts grows here in Plenty; and no Country in the World is better furniſhed either with Fruit or Timber Trees. The Commodities for which it is chiefly famous are Sarſaparilla, Sulphur, Indigo, Saſſifras, Cocoa, Ambergreaſe, Vanillas, Hides, Wool, Cotton, Silk, Sugar, *&c.* but the two principal Commodities are Silver, of which there are ſeveral rich Mines; and the Root called *Mechoacan*, ſometimes White Rhubarb, from its Colour and Effects; formerly it was in high Repute, and ſold in *Europe* at a great Rate, but of late it is much ſunk both in its Reputation and its Price, the Reſin of Jalap being found to anſwer all Intentions better.

At

At the Time *Cortez* ſubdued the Kingdom of *Mexico*, *Mechoacan* was an independent Monarchy, and its Sovereign of ſuch Power as to be formidable to the *Mexicans*, to whom he was an inveterate Enemy. He was however ſo much intimidated when he heard of the Deſtruction of that Empire by the *Spaniards*, that he ſubmitted of his own Accord; ſo that *Cortez* gained this conſiderable Country by his Reputation only. It was then, and ſome Time after very populous; but the *Indians* are now grown thin, not ſo much through any Severity of the *Spaniards*, as by their introducing Luxury amongſt them, which was unknown in earlier Times; for theſe People being of a weaker Conſtitution than *Europeans*, are leſs able to ſupport Exceſſes, to which however they are naturally but too much inclined.

At preſent the Cities in this Province are numerous, but the principal of them is that diſtinguiſhed by the ſame Name of *Mechoacan*; it ſtands very pleaſantly on a large River, and not far from a conſiderable Lake of the ſame Name; the *Spaniards* call it *Valedolid*; it lies in the Latitude of 19° 10′ and forty-ſeven Leagues from *Mexico*, large and beautiful, adorned with a fine Cathedral, and full of handſom Houſes belonging to rich *Spaniards*, Owners of the Mines of *Guanaxoato*, which lie about twenty-eight Leagues to the North, and fifteen Leagues farther there

there are others which are ſtill richer. Amongſt the moſt conſiderable Places in this Province, may be reckoned the Town of *St. Philip*, that of *St. Michael*, the Conception, and the Port of *Sacatula*, at the Mouth of a River of the ſame Name: It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that for Reaſons before aſſigned, the *Spaniards* carry on the greateſt Part of the Trade of this Province by Land, in which they are the more excuſable, conſidering there are but very bad Ports here, indeed ſcarce any that can be properly called ſo.

The next Province is that of *Mexico Proper*, which hath to the North that of *Panuco*, to the Eaſt that of *Tlaſcala*, to the South the Pacifick Ocean, and to the Weſt the Province of *Mechoacan:* As it is the moſt conſidered, ſo it is alſo one of the fineſt Provinces in this great Empire. The Climate is indeed variable, ſo that Strangers ſometimes complain of its exceſſive Heat, and the Natives again are apt to ſhrink under its Cold; however *Europeans*, of ſound Conſtitutions, agree that it is both pleaſant and temperate. The Soil is remarkably fruitful, and though the *Mexicans* are as luxurious in their Tempers, and have as much Money wherewith to indulge their Luxury as any other People in the World, yet all the Neceſſaries of Life are extremely cheap, which is a pregnant Proof of the Plenty that reigns here. As to the Com-

Commodities of this Province, they are much the ſame with thoſe of *Mechoacan* before-mentioned, except that the Mines afford a much greater Quantity of Silver, and that this Silver holds ſometimes a very conſiderable Portion of Gold, of which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak. As to the Hiſtory and Conqueſt of this Country, it has been already ſufficiently explained in the former Book, and therefore we ſhall not meddle with it again here.

The Royal City of *Mexico* is the Capital of this Province, of the Audience, and of all *New Spain*. This famous City is ſeated at the Foot of a Chain of Mountains, in the Midſt of a great Lake called from thence *The Lake of Mexico*. In Point of Regularity, it is the beſt built City perhaps in the Univerſe, the Streets being ſo ſtrait, and ſo exactly diſpoſed, that from any Part thereof the whole is viſible. The *Spaniſh* Writers place it in the Latitude of 19° 40′. There are five Entrances into it, over as many Cauſeways, and the Want of three Things render it very remarkable, theſe are Gates, Walls and Artillery. All the Buildings are convenient, ſome of them very magnificent, eſpecially the Cathedral, Churches, Monaſteries and Nunneries; of the former there are twenty-nine, and of the latter twenty-two: You may gueſs at the Riches of theſe from the Revenue of the Cathedral, which amounts to at leaſt ſeventy thouſand

thouſand Pounds a Year, out of which the Archbiſhop receives annually fifteen thouſand Pounds, beſides prodigious Sums that accrue to him by Way of Perquiſites. To ſay the Truth, the Church is unreaſonably rich, for it enjoys the Whole of what we in *England*, would call Property, that is to ſay, the Clergy are the ſole Ground-Landlords in this Place, which is the Reaſon that few *Spaniards* care to ſettle there. Many Writers have reported improbable, not a few incredible Things of *Mexico*. In order to avoid therefore following their Steps, I ſhall ſtick cloſe to a *Spaniſh* Author who reſided there long enough to be perfectly acquainted with it, and who in other Reſpects writes freely, and with great Sincerity; he aſſures us that it is above ſix Miles in Compaſs, and that it contains about a hundred thouſand Inhabitants, that they are rich to an immenſe Degree, and that the moſt valuable Commodities of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, together with thoſe of *Europe*, are daily expoſed to Sale in their Markets; but as to what our Countryman *Gage* tells us of his ſeeing two thouſand Coaches there driving for Diverſion in an Evening, we muſt either believe that it happened in the Night, and that he dreamt it, or if he really look'd upon the Coaches, that at leaſt he ſaw double. The far greater Part of theſe Inhabitants are Blacks or Mulattos, the reſt *Spaniards*, who reſide there as long as they continue in Office, or

till they have acquired ſuch a Fortune as ſatisfies them. Beſides all the King's Courts, this City is honoured with an Univerſity, is the Seat of an Archbiſhop, and hath a Tribunal of the Inquiſition. We may form ſome Idea of the Riches of the People by the Tenths collected from the eleven Prelates ſubject to this Archbiſhop, which amounts to upwards of half a Million of Pieces of Eight, thoſe Prelates receiving at leaſt twelve hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*.

But there is another Method of calculating the Wealth of *Mexico*, which I will preſent to the Reader, becauſe I am pretty confident he will find it no where elſe. There was brought into the King's Exchequer at *Mexico* in the Year 1730, ſomewhat better than a Million of Marks of Silver; this was the King's Duty from the Mines, which ought to be one Fifth of the Metal taken out of them. It is true moſt People think the King is pretty roundly cheated; but becauſe this does not appear to us, we will ſuppoſe he is honeſtly paid, and that this is the fifth Part of what is dug out of the Mines. The whole therefore muſt amount to five Millions of Marks. A Mark is a Weight equivalent to eight of our Ounces, ſo that if we compute this Silver at 5 *s. per Oz.* then the Inhabitants of *Mexico* receive annually from their Mines ten Millions of Money.

We have neither Room nor Inclination to enter here into an Account of the Manners of the People, or if we had, ſaying that they are lazy and profuſe, would ſerve as well as if we wrote Pages about them. The immenſe Wealth which ſome of them poſſeſs intoxicates them to ſuch a Degree, that thro' meer Miſmanagement they run it out. As for the *Spaniards*, they are very unjuſt and oppreſſive, and their Clergy miſerably ignorant, and withal Bigots to the laſt degree, and of very ſcandalous Morals, if their own Writers may be believed. With all this Grandeur and Wealth, the military Strength of this Place is incredibly low; the Viceroy has not about his Perſon above four or five hundred Men, which is perhaps owing to the Jealouſy of the Government at home, for otherwiſe he might, for an inconſiderable Expence, be much better provided. To ſay the Truth, the Place is in very little Danger from Foreigners, at the ſame time that it muſt be owned there would be a great Riſque run in putting Arms into the Hands of ſuch an unruly People as the Bulk of the Inhabitants in this City really are, who on the ſlighteſt Grievances threaten their Viceroys to burn them in their Palaces, or to tear them in pieces if they ſtir out, and who have more than once ſhewn a ſtrong Inclination to be as good as their Words.

One would imagine that this great City would hinder there being any other conſiderable Places in this Province; but it is far from being ſo, for there are many, even in the very Lake, and beſides theſe, not a few ſcattered up and down the Country, ſuch as *Petalan*, *Catalutla*, which are maritime Places, *Oſtuma*, *Taſco*, *Cuernabaca*, *Atliſco*, ſcattered up and down the Province, and extremely well peopled by *Indians*.

But after *Mexico*, the moſt conſiderable town, or that at leaſt which deſerves moſt Notice from us, is *Acapulco*, the Haven of *Mexico* for the *South Seas*. The Town is pretty large, but not well built, whence ſome have made very falſe Concluſions as to its Wealth and Importance. That the Town is but mean is indiſputable, and two extraordinary Cauſes there are for it. The firſt of theſe is the Frequency of Earthquakes, and every body knows that it would not be only ridiculous, but very dangerous to build ſtrong, ſubſtantial Houſes, in a Place liable to ſuch Accidents, where the ſlighter the Houſe, the ſafer thoſe who inhabit it. The ſecond Reaſon is, the Unhealthineſs of the Place, which is ſuch that, except when their Buſineſs calls them hither, few *Spaniards* are to be ſeen in the Town, and then they ſtay no longer than needs muſt, leaving their Dwelling and Warehouſes to the Care of Servants. I ſuſpect there may be added to this, a third Cauſe, at leaſt as

ſtrong

ſtrong as any of the reſt, and that is the ſmall Inclination theſe People have to dwell on the Coaſt at any Rate. Now the Reaſon of their repairing frequently to *Acapulco*, is its being the grand Port of *New Spain* for the Trade of *Peru* and the *Eaſt Indies*, as the Harbour of *La Vera Cruz* is for the *North Seas* and the *European* Trade; but in order to form a juſt Notion of theſe Matters, we muſt enter into a more particular Detail.

The Port of *Acapulco* is allowed by all proper Judges to be an excellent one, far ſuperior to any in theſe Seas. It lies 17° N. L. and its Haven is not only ſafe and commodious, but withal ſo very large, that ſeveral hundred Ships may anchor therein without running any Hazard of one injuring another. There is a ſmall low Iſland croſſing the Mouth of the Harbour; it is about a Mile and a half long, and half a Mile broad, ſtretching Eaſt and Weſt. It leaves a good, wide, and deep Channel at each End, where Ships may ſafely go in or come out, taking the Advantage of the Winds: They muſt enter with the Sea Wind, and go out with the Land Wind; for theſe Winds ſeldom or never fail to ſucceed each other alternately in their proper Seaſon of the Day or Night. The weſtermoſt Channel is the narroweſt, but ſo deep, there is no anchoring; and the *Manila* Ships paſs in that Way, but the Ships from *Lima* enter thro' the South Weſt Channel. This Harbour runs in North

about three Miles, then growing very narrow, it turns ſhort about to the Weſt, and runs about a Mile farther, where it ends. The Town ſtands on the North Weſt Side; at the Mouth of this narrow Paſſage, cloſe by the Sea, and at the End of the Town, there is a Platform with a great many Guns. Oppoſite to the Town, on the Eaſt Side, ſtands a high ſtrong Caſtle, ſaid to have forty Guns of a very great Bore. Ships commonly ride near the Bottom of the Harbour, under the Command both of the Caſtle and the Platform.

Moſt of our Writers who have mention'd this Place and its Trade, have run into an Error as to its Commerce with *Peru*, which they confine to the annual Ship from *Lima*. This has no Foundation, in Truth; for at all other Seaſons of the Year, ſave that wherein the *Acapulco* Ship arrives, which is about *Chriſtmas*, the Trade is open, and Ships of *Peru* come thither frequently, ſell their own Commodities, and carry back thoſe of *Mexico*; but inaſmuch as the great Importance of this Place ſprings from the annual Ships of *Lima* and *Manila*; theſe are all the Veſſels ſaid to come hither by our Voyage-Writers, who collect only from general Reports, and therefore we need not wonder at their falling into Miſtakes of this Nature, in contradicting which, we make uſe of the beſt Authority, that of *Spaniſh* Authors, who have reſided long on the Spot, and have been intereſted in the Commerce there.

In

In the former Book we have given an Account of the Diſcovery of the *Philippine Iſlands*, and their being conquered by the *Spaniards*. As they are much richer, and of far greater Importance to that Crown than we commonly imagine, ſo undoubtedly the *Spaniards* are ſtronger and better provided in thoſe Parts than we have any Accounts of, as may be infallibly concluded from the vaſt Riches which their Governors and even their under Officers acquire there. Yet the only Commerce they have with the reſt of the World is this, by the Port of *Acapulco*. Our accompliſhed Admiral, Sir *John Narborough*, reported that there were ſeven or eight Ships concerned in this Trade; but nothing is more certain than that he was miſinformed, for till within theſe thirty Years, there never was any more than one annual Ship which paſſed between *Manila* and *Anapulco*. Now indeed there are two, one the *Galleon* or trading Ship and the other a kind of Convoy. The Convoy is a Frigate of between twenty and thirty Guns, the Galleon a prodigious, unweildy Veſſel of a thouſand, ſometimes twelve hundred Ton Burthen. This is the Effect of that ſtrict Regulation whereby the Inhabitants are tied down to ſend no more than this Ship every Year. It is laden with all the rich Products of the Eaſt, ſuch as Ambergreaſe, Civet, Bezoar, very large oriental Pearl, vaſt Quantities of Piece Goods, and the Value of about

a hundred thouſand Pound Sterling in Gold Duſt. This Voyage to *Acapulco* is extremely dangerous, as it is by far the longeſt from Land to Land that can be made. They touch indeed at *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*, and, except a Day or two's Stay there, paſs three thouſand Leagues without ſeeing any thing but Sea and Sky. Nothing certainly but the vaſt Wealth that is acquired could tempt Men to run ſuch a Hazard; but when it is conſidered that the Captain of the Galleon makes forty thouſand Pieces of Eight, the Pilot twenty thouſand, each of his two Mates nine thouſand, and every common Seaman a thouſand if he manages prudently, we cannot be amazed. They ſail generally from *Manila* towards the latter End of the Month of *June*, and arrive at *Acapulco* within ten Days before, or ten Days after *Chriſtmas* always.

About the ſame time comes the annual Ship from *Lima*, laden with the richeſt Commodities of *Peru*, and at leaſt two Millions of Pieces of Eight; theſe are to be laid out in the Purchaſe of *Indian* Commodities that the Fair of *Acapulco*, which laſts ſometimes thirty Days, and at which ſuch as come from the *Eaſt Indies* furniſh themſelves with all Sorts of *European* Goods, brought hither over Land from the Port of *Vera Cruz*. It is eaſily conceived what a mighty Alteration happens at *Acapulco* on the Commencement of this Fair, which from a dirty dreary Village,

lage, or at leaſt very inconſiderable Town, exalts it into a populous City, crowded with the richeſt Commodities of both the *Indies*. When the Fair is over, the Goods belonging to the *Mexican* Merchants are tranſported over Land by Mules; thoſe which are ſent into *Peru* are laden not only on the annual Ship, but on many others; and the Galleon, as ſoon as it is poſſible, prepares for her Return to *Manila*. By the Way we muſt remark, that heretofore the *Lima* Ship was of very inconſiderable Force, but of late, ſince our Privateers have found the Way into the *South Seas*, they never employ any Veſſel carrying leſs than forty Guns, and ſhe alſo is allowed a Tender, ſometimes two.

The *Galleon*, in her Return from *Acapulco* to *Manila*, makes a much ſafer and ſpeedier Voyage than in coming, for falling down from 17° to 19° of Latitude, ſhe runs away before the Wind, and performs a Courſe of about two thouſand Leagues in ten, twelve, or thirteen Weeks at the moſt. Her Return is expected with great Impatience by reaſon of the great Want the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts have of the Goods ſhe brings. Beſides, in her comes Money for the Pay of all the Garriſons which are ſaid to coſt the King of *Spain* two hundred and fifty thouſand Pieces of Eight *per Annum*, which is true; but then they reckon without any Notice taken of the immenſe Quantity of Spices and other rich Com-

Commodities brought from thence, or even of the large Quantity of Gold mentioned before, which will much more than balance that Account.

The next Province in the Audience of *Mexico* is that of *Tlaſcala*, which has the Happineſs of lying both on the *North* and *South Seas*. Its Boundaries are thus: On the North it has part of the Province of *Panuco*, on the Eaſt the Gulph of *Mexico*; on the South the *Pacifick Ocean*; and on the Weſt the Province of *Mexico* proper.

As to the Climate and Soil of this Province, they are much the ſame with thoſe of *Mexico*, only ſome think the former leſs variable, and the latter more fruitful. As it is perhaps, the beſt ſeated, ſo it is beyond Queſtion, the moſt populous Country in all *America*, which is owing to many Cauſes; ſome of which it may not be improper to mention. In the firſt Place we muſt obſerve that the *Tlaſcalans* were never conquered, but as they were originally the Allies of *Cortez*, ſo by his Recommendation, they have ever ſince been conſidered in that Light by the *Spaniſh* Government, which is perhaps the only true Point of Policy they purſue. By this Means the Villages and Towns ſwarm with *Indians* who are quite different People from their Neighbours; for whereas the latter are grown ſenſeleſs and ſtupid, through the long Continuance of Slavery and Oppreſſion; theſe have

have all the Fire and Spirit that is natural to a free People. They ſpeak the *Spaniſh* Tongue, and ſcarce any other; they are perfectly reconciled to the *Spaniſh* Cuſtoms, and are ſo grateful for the Countenance and Reſpect ſhewed them, that it is conceived the Government may more ſafely depend upon them than upon the *Meſtizos*, though the latter are actually deſcended from *Spaniards*. One may very well wonder that having ſuch an Inſtance before their Eyes, the Viceroy and his Council do not treat the *Indians* in general better; perhaps they may have their Reaſons, though, to us, they ſeem paſt finding out.

There are in this Province many great and rich Towns, amongſt which, not to detain the Reader too long, we will ſpeak but of three. *Tlaſcala*, anciently the Capital of the Province, now no more than an *Indian* Town, ſtands very pleaſantly on the Bank of a River which runs into the *South Sea*. It is well inhabited, and its Inhabitants are, for *Indians*, very rich. Few *Spaniards* reſide here, yet ſome there are. At a ſmall Diſtance from thence ſtands *Puebla de los Angelos*, i. e. The City of the Angels, which is now the Capital of the Province, and much the fineſt Place in it. It vies for Beauty and Magnificence with *Mexico* itſelf, and one may gueſs at the Richneſs of the Place by the Revenue of the Cathedral and its Chapter, whch,

which amounts to three hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight *per Annum.*

The City of *La Vera Cruz*, which is the great Port of *New Spain*, on the North Seas, ſtands alſo in this Province, and very well deſerves a particular Deſcription. When *Cortez* landed on this Coaſt, in order to undertake the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, he founded the City of *Old Vera Cruz*, which he ſo named, becauſe he landed there on *Good-Friday*; this was in 1518, but ſince then great Alterations have happened, and this City is partly decayed, partly deſtroyed, the Cauſes of which have been many. In the firſt Place the Port was found to be very bad, next the City was ſhewn, by Experience, to be extremely unwholeſome, and laſtly it proved to be very weak and defenceleſs. At about fifteen or ſixteen Miles diſtance, a very ſtrong and ſafe, though not capacious Port was diſcovered, capable of being effectually protected by a Fort built upon a triangular Rock, which Fort, when erected, was call'd *Saint John de Ulua.* By Degrees, the *Spaniards* erected a Town in the Neighbourhood of this Fort, which, in Proceſs of Time, drained the old Town, and was thence called *New Vera Cruz.* It ſtands in the Latitude of 19° 16′ and is not very conſiderable, either for its Bulk, or for the Magnificence of its Buildings; for on the one Side being expoſed to vaſt Clouds of dry Sand, and on the other

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to the Exhalations of very rank Bogs, it is ſo very unwholeſom, that ſcarce any *Spaniards* of Note reſide there conſtantly; and to this we properly may aſcribe its being at preſent, and having always been a Place of no great Strength, as appears by its having been taken by ſome *French* and *Dutch* Buchaneers in 1683, and the Apprehenſions its Inhabitants are in on the Appearance of any ſtrange Ships ever ſince.

In Point of Trade however it is one of the moſt conſiderable Places, not only in the new, but perhaps in the whole World. It receives from *Acapulca* over Land, a vaſt Quantity of *Eaſt India* Commodities: The Ware-houſes here are generally full of *European* Goods; and the Merchants of *Vera Cruz*, carry on a Trade as great as it is poſſible for *Spaniards* to carry on throughout all *America*. In its Port the Flota is obliged to winter; and on its Arrival, there is a prodigious Fair held here which quite changes the Aſpect of the City for the Time it laſts, which is ſometimes for many Weeks, for it is opened as ſoon as the Ships arrive in the Port, and does not end till they are ready to ſail. Some Writers, without diſtinguiſhing between the City and Citizens, would have us believe that this Place is immenſely rich, which is ſtrictly and literally true in the Fair Time, but can ſcarce be allowed ſo at any other, at leaſt of late Years, ſince the richeſt Merchants

chants not only reſide at the City of *Angels*, the far greater Part of the Year, but alſo keep their Plate there till ſuch Time as the Flota is on the very Point of ſailing, a neceſſary Precaution, ſince Experience has ſhewn how eaſy *La Vera Cruz* may be ſurprized, though perhaps it might be difficult enough to keep it. Its conſtant Inhabitants are only *Mulottos* and *Meſtizos*, with a few *Spaniſh* Factors, who ſtay to make Fortunes; and long, to be ſure, they need not ſtay in a Place, where a Man who hath half a Million of Pieces of Eight, is not thought rich, or any thing more than what we call well to paſs. The whole of the Inhabitants of *Vera Cruz*, including Slaves, may be about three thouſand, and the Compaſs of the City is about half a *Spaniſh* League.

Behind the Province of *Tlaſcala* lies that of *Panuco*, which is very large and finely ſituated. On the North it is bounded by *Florida*, and part of the Audience of *Guadalajara*, on the Eaſt by the Gulph of *Mexico*, on the South by the Provinces of *Tlaſcala* and *Mexico* Proper, and on the Weſt by that of *Mechoacan*. It was one of the firſt Diſcoveries of the famous *Cortez*, who took a great deal of Pains to conquer and plant it, though the Country be rather fruitful and pleaſant than rich. Its Inhabitants made a very vigorous Reſiſtance, and were not ſubdued without conſiderable Loſs; however, by

by the building ſeveral Cities, they have ſince been thoroughly bridled, which is perhaps one Reaſon why many of them choſe to retire into *Florida*, rather than remain Slaves in their native Country. On this Account we find this Province but indifferently peopled, and little Notice taken of it in ſeveral Authors, notwithſtanding its having a very extended Sea Coaſt, along the Gulph of *Mexico*, with ſeveral Roads and Creeks, though no great Ports. Its Capital hath the ſame Name with the Province, as hath alſo the River upon which it ſtands, which is large and navigable. The City of *Panuco*, which is a Biſhop's See, lies in the Latitude of 21° 50′ at the Diſtance of about twenty Leagues from the Sea; it contains about five hundred Families, and the Houſes therein are built of Stone, which renders them ſtrong and clean, and are neatly thatched with *Palmetto* Leaves. There are other conſiderable Places in the Province, ſuch as that of *St. Jago de los Valles*, which lies higher than that of *Panuco*, on the ſame River, and ſome others, which, to avoid ſwelling this Article, I ſhall not mention.

On the other Side of the Province of *Tlaſcala*, lies that of *Guaxaca*, as well ſituated as any in *America*. On the North it has the Gulph of *Mexico*; on the Eaſt the Province of *Tabaſco*, and the Audience of *Guatimala*; on the South the *Pacific* Ocean; and on the

Weſt

Weſt the Province of *Tlaſcala*. The Climate is tolerable, and the Soil rich, producing two very valuable Drugs, Cochineal and Vinelloes, the former a rich Dye, and the latter a valuable Perfume; it grows in various Parts of the Kingdom of *Mexico*, but no where in ſuch Plenty as here, we will therefore take this Opportunity of deſcribing it. The Vinello is a little Cod full of ſmall black Seeds; it is four or five Inches long, about the Bigneſs of the Stem of a Tobacco Leaf, and when dried much reſembling it; ſo that our Privateers at firſt have often thrown them away, when they took any, wondering why the *Spaniards* ſhould lay up Tobacco Stems. This Cod grows on a ſmall Vine, which climbs about and ſupports itſelf by the neighbouring Trees; it firſt bears a yellow Flower, from whence the Cod afterwards proceeds. It is firſt green, but when ripe, it turns yellow; then the *Indians* (whoſe Manufacture it is, and who ſell it cheap to the *Spaniards*) gather it and lay it in the Sun, which makes it ſoft; when it changes to a Cheſnut Colour. Then they frequently preſs it between their Fingers, which makes it flat. The principal Uſe of this Perfume is to give a Flavour to Chocolate, and ſometimes Tobacco; in both which it is extremely agreeable. This Province of *Guaxaca* is but very thinly inhabited, for which no ſufficient Reaſon appears, ſince it wants not good Ports both on the North

North and in the *South Seas*, ſuch as *Aquatulco*, formerly taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, which though a ſmall, is yet a very ſafe and commodious Harbour, though there is now ſcarce ſo much as a Village in its Neighbourhood. On the other Side, in the Gulph of *Mexico*, Ships ride ſafely at the Mouth of the River *Alvarado*. The Capital of the Province is an inland City of a middling Size, and indifferently built, ſeated in a fair and fruitful Plain; its proper Name is *Antequera*; but it is commonly called *Guaxaca*; it is a Biſhop's See of conſiderable Revenue, and ſome rich Families, deſcended from the old *Spaniſh* Conquerors, have their Habitations there. Other Places of Note in this Province are *St. Jago*, *Spiritu Santo*, and *St. Ildefonſo*. I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay of this Country, by obſerving that a great Part of the Eſtates of the Family of *Cortez* lie here.

Eaſt from this Province lies that of *Tabaſco*, ſtretched along the Gulph of *Mexico*, and of a very inconſiderable Extent. North it is bounded by that Gulph, Eaſt by the Province of *Yucatan*, South by part of the Audience of *Guatimala*, and Weſt by the Province of *Guaxaca*. As it is a narrow Slip by the Sea Shore, neither its Soil nor its Climate are much to be boaſted of, the one being far from wholeſome, and the other not over fruitful. Our Logwood-Cutters were wont to frequent this Coaſt much, and pro-

cured great Advantages to themſelves by trading with the *Spaniards*, who are very glad of any Supplies of *European* Commodities, having no Ports of their own, and lying at a conſiderable Diſtance from *La Vera Cruz*. There are no Mines here, which is one Reaſon perhaps why it is ſomewhat neglected, yet the People have good Farms, well ſtocked with Cattle, which yield them conſiderable Profit; and beſides they have great Plenty of Cocoa, which they ſend laden on Mules to *Vera Cruz*. The only Town of Note is in the eaſtern Corner of the Province, and is called by the *Spaniards*, *Nueſtra Sennora de la Vittoria*, i. e. Our Lady of Victory.

The laſt Province in the Audience of *Mexico* is that of *Yucatan*, or, as the *Spaniards* ſpell it, *Jucatan*. It is a Peninſula, ſurrounded on the North and on the Weſt by the Gulph of *Mexico*, on the Eaſt by the Gulph of *Honduras*, on the South by part of the Audience of *Guatimala*, and the little Province of *Tabaſco*. It is in all Reſpects a moſt noble Country, and as ſuch deſervedly commended by *Herrera*, and all the *Spaniſh* Writers. The Climate is pretty warm in the Summer, which begins in the Month of *April*, and ends in that of *September*. The Winter Seaſon is indifferently cool, excepting the Months of *January* and *February*, which are almoſt as hot as in the Midſt of Summer; yet, on the whole, the Country is very wholeſome,

ſome, eſpecially a ſort of mountainous Tract which runs acroſs it, where when the *Spaniards* entered *America*, there were ſome *Indians* three hundred Years old, and the Natives ſtill live to a vaſt Age. The Days and Nights are pretty near equal all the Year round; and this, with the Sea Breezes, makes the Heat tolerable enough. The Soil is indifferently good, produces Plenty of Corn, when ſufficiently cultivated, and abounds with Cattle of all Sorts; but the principal Commodity is Logwood, for which the Bay of *Campeachy* is deſervedly famous. But in as much as no Mines have been diſcovered in this Country, whatever Plenty there may be of other uſeful things, the *Spaniards* are not fond of making Settlements here, which without doubt is one great Cauſe of its abounding ſo much with *Indians*. Theſe however live, generally ſpeaking, in ſubmiſſive Obedience to the *Spaniards*. In the Bay of *Campeachy*, they are made uſe of in making Salt, which is a very laborious Employment, the poor Creatures being forced to endure all Extremities of Weather, without either Houſe or Hut to protect them; they likewiſe keep their Cattle, and do every other ſervile Office, though but unwillingly; for when an Opportunity offers, they are ſure to embrace it, and fairly run away into the Woods, or elſe take Shelter in ſome uninhabited Iſlands, where they live

in a State of Nature, though not much at their Eaſe.

Some of the *Spaniſh* Writers would have us believe that the Natives were extremely barbarous, till civilized by them, and particularly that they devoured human Fleſh. This however ſeems to deſerve no great Credit, ſince after the ſtricteſt Enquiry that can be made, we have no Certainty that any of the *Indians*, how barbarous ſoever, either now do, or ever did eat human Fleſh, except it may be in Time of War, the Fleſh of their Enemies, not becauſe it was grateful to them, but becauſe it was a Mark of Victory, and a Gratification of their Revenge. Beſides, theſe *Indians* live quietly enough in their Villages, and are extremely ſubmiſſive to their *Padres* or Prieſts; ſo that the *Spaniards* have no need to invent any ſuch Stories, except it be to excuſe their own Cruelty, which is not ſo great now as it has been, and which was always contrary to their Laws, and repeated Edicts from the Court of *Spain*, which in this, as in moſt other caſes, were received with all outward Demonſtrations of Reſpect, and perhaps publiſhed with much Solemnity, but within a few Months, when the King's Officers had made the moſt of Diſpenſations, as little minded as if they had never been heard of.

There are in this Province ſeveral little Towns, but four only of any conſiderable Bigneſs, and of which it is neceſſary we ſhould give

give the Reader ſome Account. The firſt of theſe is *Campeachy*, or, as it is called by the *Spaniards*, *San Franciſco de Campeche*. It is a fair Town ſtanding on the Shore in a ſmall bending of the Land, and is the only Town on all this Coaſt, even from *Cape Catoche* to *La Vera Cruz*, that ſtands open to the Sea. It makes a fine Shew, being built all with good Stone. The Houſes are not high, but the Walls very ſtrong; the Roofs flattiſh, after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion, and covered with Pantile. There is a ſtrong Citadel, or Fort at one End, mounted with many Guns, where the Governor reſides with a ſmall Garriſon to defend it. Though this Fort commands the Town and Harbour, yet it has been twice taken. Firſt, by Sir *Chriſtopher Mims*, who about the Year 1659 having ſummoned the Governor, and afterwards ſtaid three Days for an Anſwer before he landed his Men, yet then took it by Storm, and that only with ſmall Arms. This Man was ſo bold, that when the old *Jamaica* Privateers would have perſuaded him to make uſe of Fraud, in taking the Place, he rejected their Counſel with the utmoſt Indignation, adding, "I come "hither to get, and not to ſteal Victories;" whereupon he marched to the Attack with Drums beating and Colours flying. It was taken a ſecond Time by *Engliſh* and *French* Buchaneers by Surprize; this was in 1678; and ſince then, it has remained pretty quiet.

The chief Manufacture of the Country round about it is Cotton Cloth, which is the Cloathing of all the Natives, and even ſome of the *Spaniards* of the poorer Sort. In the northern Part of the Province, and at a pretty conſiderable Diſtance from the Sea, ſtands the City of *Mereda*, which is the Capital, and the Seat of a Biſhop. South Eaſt from it lies *Valadolid*, at no great Diſtance from the Bay of *Honduras*; it is a fair Town, and pleaſantly ſituated, but withal very little known to Strangers. In the Iſthmus, or Neck of Land, which joins this Peninſula to the Continent of *Mexico*, ſtands the Town of *Salamanca*, ſmall indeed, but tolerably well built, and at preſent in a very thriving Condition.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Audience of* Guatimala.

THIS is the laſt Audience in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, and a noble Country it is, very little inferior to that of which we have been ſpeaking, except in great Cities, and as capable of Improvement as any part of the *Spaniſh America*. It is bounded on the North by the Audience of *Mexico* and the Bay of *Honduras*; on the Eaſt by the *North Sea*, and ſome of the Provinces of South *America*; and on the South and Weſt by the *Pacific*

*Pacific* Ocean, or, as we commonly call them, the *South Seas*; ſo that it enjoys as advantageous a Situation in reſpect to Commerce as could be wiſhed. Its Provinces are eight in Number, of which we ſhall ſpeak as ſuccinctly as poſſible.

The firſt Province in this Audience is that of *Chiapa*, of a triangular Form, and ſo ſeated, that though it come very near the Sea, yet no part of it reaches it. It is bounded on the North by *Tlaſcala* and *Tabaſco*, on the Eaſt by *Jucatan*, on the South by the Provinces of *Vera Paz*, and *Soconuſco*, and on the Weſt by the laſt mentioned Province, and that of *Tlaſcala*. The Middle of this Province lies ſixty Leagues from either of the Seas, which renders the Air cold and dry, but withal very ſharp, and very healthy. The Soil is diverſified, and very fruitful, eſpecially in Corn and Timber. Pears, Apples, and Quinces, are here in Plenty; Cochineal grows wild; and there is likewiſe both Cocoa and Cotton; but that which is the peculiar Glory of this Province is its Breed of Horſes, which are thought the very beſt in all *New Spain*. Heretofore there was a great deal of Gold found in this Province, but for want of *Indians*, and from the Diſcovery of richer Mines in other Places, this is now come to nothing. In the hilly Part near the Middle of *Chiapa*, there is ſuch a Variety of vaſt and venomous Serpents, that no body will venture

to travel in thoſe Parts. *Herrera* tells us, that thirty *Indians* going a fiſhing in a Moon-light Night, as they were talking heard a loud Noiſe of hiſſing, and turning, ſaw a Creature looking at them with Eyes like Fire, whereupon they ran up the Trees for Fear, whence they could ſee it was a ſort of Snake, having Feet about a Span long, and a kind of Wings above, the Creature about as long as a Horſe, and moved very ſlowly, for fear of which they never returned thither any more. Three of the *Quelene Indians* affirmed, that as they paſſed over that River, they had ſeen the ſame Creature hiſſing; they deſcribed it, and thought it came down to the River to drink, and one of the three, who was behind the others, died of the Fright.

There are two remarkable Cities in this Province, both of its own Name, the firſt is, for Diſtinction ſake, called *Chiapa de los Indos*, that is, *Chiapa of the Indians*, becauſe it is inhabited by the Natives of the Country, who are beyond Exception the wittieſt, wiſeſt, and moſt civilized People in all the *Spaniſh* Dominions, of which, if we had no other Proof, this might ſeem ſufficient; that by a ſpecial Grant from the King of *Spain*, the Citizens have the Privilege of chuſing their own Magiſtrates: The other City is called *Cividad Real*, that is, *the Royal City*, inhabited by *Spaniards*; it is a Biſhop's See, and reputed both rich and a pleaſant Place. There

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are a great many Curioſities in this little Province, which the narrow Compaſs we are bound to keep will not allow us to deſcribe.

The Province of *Soconuſco* lies next to that of *Chiapa*, extending itſelf along the Coaſt of the *South Seas*, for the Space of thirty-five Leagues. On the North it has the Province of *Chiapa*; on the Eaſt thoſe of *Vera Paz*, and *Guatimala*; on the South the *Pacific* Ocean; the ſame on the Weſt, with part of the Province of *Tlaſcala*. The Air of the Province is very far from being either healthy or agreeable; Storms are frequent, and the rainy Seaſon continues long and troubleſome; the Soil too is none of the beſt, ſo that there grows very little Corn; but this is in ſome meaſure compenſated by the vaſt Abundance of Cocoa. There are however but very few *Spaniards* in this Part of the Country, and even ſuch as are there, are not very rich; the Reaſon aſſigned for which is, the Temper of the Natives, who are exceſſively proud, more numerous than elſewhere, and withal quarrelſome and malicious, which renders them cruel to each other, and much more ſo to Strangers. The ſole Place of Conſequence ſtands on the Shore of the *South Sea*, and in the Language of the Natives is ſtyled *Guevitlan*. A few *Spaniards* are ſettled here, tho' they will ſcarce venture themſelves in any other Part of the Province, which perhaps is one

one Reaſon why they are deſirous of having it made a Garriſon.

*Guatimala*, properly ſo called, is the next Province; it alſo extends itſelf along the Coaſt of the *South Sea*, for upwards of one hundred Leagues; on the North it has the two Provinces of *Vera Paz* and *Honduras*; *Nicaragua* on the Eaſt, the Sea on the South, and on the Weſt *Soconuſco*: It does not rain frequently in this Province, but when it does, it falls for many Days together. Some Places are accounted as pleaſant, and withal as healthy as any in *New Spain*, but generally ſpeaking the Climate is not good. The Soil is however excellent, and fruitful beyond Compariſon, eſpecially in Corn and ſome valuable Fruits. Cotton is a Staple Commodity, as alſo Wax, for they have abundance of Bees, who make a Honey as white as the Comb itſelf. The Paſtures alſo are ſo large and ſo fine, that it is impoſſible to form an Idea of the vaſt Number of Cattle which are fed in them. The Natives are naturally of a quiet, peaceable Diſpoſition, but the *Spaniſh* Writers charge them with being extremely bigotted to their old Superſtitions; in all Probability the Luxury of the *Spaniſh* Clergy, the Haughtineſs and oppreſſive Behaviour of their Governors, and that rank Hypocriſy which is viſible amongſt all Degrees of Men, have prejudiced theſe unhappy Men againſt the Lights of the Goſpel.

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The ancient City of *Guatimala*, which was one of the fineſt in *New Spain*, was entirely deſtroyed in the Year 1541 by a Hurricane, whereby an hundred and twenty thouſand *Spaniards* loſt their Lives. The Day before this dreadful Accident, ſome *Indians* acquainted the Biſhop, that they heard a prodigious Noiſe under the burning Mountain ſeated above the City; he treated this Information with Contempt. At Midnight however, a prodigious Noiſe was heard, as if in the Bowels of the Earth, and immediately a mighty Torrent of Water iſſued out of the Mountain, which carried all before it, while a dreadful Earthquake heighten'd the Horror of the Scene, and hindered any of the miſerable Inhabitants from making their Eſcape. The *New Guatimala*, which is not only the Capital of this Province, but alſo of the Audience, a Place where the Preſident, and the Royal Courts reſide, the Seat of a rich Biſhop, and the Center of Commerce in theſe Parts, ſtands in a fine Plain, at a good Diſtance from the *Vulcano*, which was fatal to the whole City; however, it is far from being altogether out of Danger from Earthquakes, which are ſtill frequent in theſe Parts. It is notwithſtanding this, well built, and well inhabited, the Citizens carrying on a great Trade not only through all the Provinces of *Mexico*, but even into *Peru*, whereby ſome become extraordinary rich, who then, gene-

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rally ſpeaking, leave this Place, and go to reſide at *Mexico*. The chief Commodities in which they deal, are, Hides, Indigo, Anatta, Silveſter, Cochineal, Cocoa, *&c.* and indeed no City can be ſeated more conveniently for an extenſive Trade than this is, and at the ſame time enjoy ſo great a Security from the Inroads of Pyrates and Privateers, for it ſtands eight Leagues from the *South Sea*, which is too far for the Buccaneers to march without halting; and about forty Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, by which it alſo drives a great Trade. The other conſiderable Places in this Province are *La Trenidad*, the Port of *Acaxutla*, the Port of St. *Michael*, and ſeveral other leſſer Creeks and Bays. The *Vulcano* near *St. Jago de Guatimala* is ſeen at a great Diſtance at Sea.

The Province of *Vera Cruz* lies between *Guatimala* and the Gulph of *Honduras*. On the North it has that Gulph, and the Province of *Chiapa*; on the Eaſt it has the Province of *Honduras*, on the South that of *Guatimala*, and on the Weſt *Soconuſco* and *Chiapa*. It is but of ſmall Extent, and in Figure a kind of Oval, in Length forty-eight Leagues, and in Breadth twenty-eight. As to the Climate, the *Spaniſh* Writers affirm that one half of the Province is very pleaſant, and withal very healthy, whereas the other half is hot to the laſt degree, the Air participating of all the ill Qualities which can be expected from ſuch a Tem-

Temperament. As to the Soil, the Country is very rough, and mountainous, yields little Corn, but abounds with Cedar Trees, and other uſeful Timber. The chief Commodities are Drugs, eſpecially phyſical Gums, of which they have Plenty, as alſo Sarſaparilla, China Root, and Mechoacan. Formerly alſo there was ſome Gold in the *Gulfo dulce*, but of late we do not hear much of it; and therefore it is reaſonable to believe that either it is not ſought for, or ſought in vain.

This Province received its Name from an odd Accident; it was brought under the Obedience of the *Spaniards* by the preaching of certain Monks. The Soldiers, on their firſt entering the Province, finding they had nothing to do, called it ironically *Terra de Guerra*, or the Land of War; but the graver Sort of People, with much more Propriety, *Vera Paz*, as much as to ſay, *the Land of true Peace*. I have a *Spaniſh* Writer before me, *Franciſco de Coreal*, who relates a ſtrange Thing of which he was Eye-witneſs in this Province. It cannot but entertain the Reader, and therefore I tranſcribe it preciſely in his own Words. "It has been, ſays he, a Cuſ-
"tom time out of Mind, with the Clergy in
"the *Indies*, to oblige the poor Natives to
"carry Pictures to the Church; theſe Pic-
"tures are always of ſome Saint, and they
"perſuade them that this Devotion will prove
"a means of making them both rich and
"happy.

" happy. And the Reaſon aſſigned for it is, " that as ſoon as it is ſet or hung up in the " Church, the Soul of the Saint deſcends to " inhabit it, and remains there ſo long as the " *Indian* who brought it behaves as he ought " to do. Thus far there is nothing amiſs, " for according to the Chriſtianity ſettled in " the *Indies*, this is no more than a pious " Fraud of a laudable kind. But the Prieſts " make it their Buſineſs to turn this Trick to " their own Advantage, by rendering it a " means of extorting Money from the poor " ignorant People. In the firſt place he muſt " be well paid for making the Soul of the " Saint deſcend, then there muſt be an- " nual Offerings to keep the Saint in good " Humour with his *Indian* Patron, and his " Family. But to my Story. It happen'd " at *Coban*, in the Province of *Vera Paz*, " as I paſſed through it, that a certain *In-* " *dian* had paid his Prieſt for placing a Pic- " ture of St. *Dominic* in a particular Place " in the Church. It ſo happen'd that ano- " ther *Indian*, who was jealous of this Man, " and thought he would ſucceed too well, if " his Saint had ſo advantageous a Place, came " to the Prieſt, and offered him double as " much, if he would place his Favourite " there, who was St. *Ignatius*. Whether " the latter Saint was more in the Prieſt's " good Graces, or whether it was purely out " of Reſpect to the Money, is uncertain; but

" ſo

" ſo it was, that St. *Dominic* was forced to " let St. *Ignatius* take his Place. Upon this " a Quarrel commenced between the *Indi-* " *ans*, which quickly ſpread itſelf into two " Parties, who after a ſharp Battle of Words, " fell to Blows, and ſeveral were left dead on " the Spot, though the Saints did neither of " them appear in the Field, but remained as " quiet in the Church as if nothing had hap- " pened." The Reader will eaſily perceive, that even the Inquiſition itſelf cannot hinder ſenſible *Spaniards* from treating the Frauds of Churchmen with a juſt Contempt.

The Capital of this Province is the little City of *Vera Paz*, a Biſhop's See, rather neatly than elegantly built; and the Inhabitants of which, if they are not extravagantly rich, are however at their Eaſe, and live free from any Apprehenſions of being viſited by Enemies. All the Rivers of the Province run into the *Gulfo Dulce*, which at length forms a Lake, and then runs into the Bay of *Honduras*, having a little Port at its Mouth, where there are many fiſhing Veſſels, otherwiſe of ſmall Trade, and very little frequented.

The Province of *Honduras* is the largeſt in all this Audience, lying from Weſt to Eaſt above a hundred Leagues in Length, and near fourſcore in Breadth. It is bounded on the North by the Bay of *Honduras*, on the Eaſt by the *North Sea*, on the South by the Provinces

Provinces of *Nicaragua* and *Guatimala*, on the Weſt by *Vera Paz*. The Air is very wholeſome, and the Soil extremely fruitful. It abounds with Corn, both *European* and *Indian*; its Paſtures are rich and fine, and maintain conſequently vaſt Quantities of Cattle. The Rivers of this Province, moſt of them overflow like the *Nile*, and contribute thereby to the Richneſs of the Soil. Its principal Commodities are Cotton, Wax, *Vigonia* Wooll, Logwood, *&c.* beſides Gold and Silver, of which anciently there were more than there is now, the *Indians* in this Province being wore out, and with them the Mines.

The principal City in this Province is that of *Valadolid*, called by the *Indians Comayagua*. It ſtands at a great Diſtance from the Sea, pretty near the Frontiers of the Province of *Guatimala*; it is now the Biſhop's See, which was removed in 1558 from *Truxillo*; it is pleaſantly ſeated in a Valley, and for a *Spaniſh* inland City well inhabited. Beſides this, there is the aforeſaid Port of *Truxillo*, and towards the weſtern Extremity another called *Porto Cavallo*, a ſmall Town, but famous for being the Port of the City of *Guatimala*, to and from which all Commodities are carried by a Road cut immediately through the Rocks on Horſeback; whence the Name of the Place, which is but thinly inhabited, except occaſionally, when a Regiſter-Ship arrives from *Europe*, when there is a Sort of Fair

Fair held here; but of late this rarely happens; and therefore this Port is on the Decay, though formerly very famous.

*Nicaragua* is the next Province, and lies both on the *North* and on the *South Seas*. It is bounded northwards by the Province of *Honduras*, on the Eaſt by the Sea, on the South by the Province of *Coſta Rica*, and the *Pacific* Ocean; on the Weſt by *Guatimala*. The Air of this Province is the beſt and cleareſt in the whole Kingdom of *Mexico*, and the Soil moſt excellent; it abounds with Corn and with Fruits, as alſo with very fine Timber; Wax, Cordage, Tar, and Sugar, are the principal Commodities it affords. One may gueſs how pleaſant, and plentiful a Country this is, by its being called the *Paradiſe of Mahomet*. What adds much to its Beauty, is the noble Lake of the ſame Name, which is near a hundred and thirty Leagues in Circuit; it comes within twenty Miles of the *South Sea*, and iſſues into the *North Sea* by a Canal, at the Mouth of which is the Port of *St. John*. This Lake abounds with Fiſh, which are ſo much the better on account of its having a Flux and Reflux, like the Sea.

The *Indians* in this Province are better treated than elſewhere, and their Towns are neater and larger than in other Places, which may very poſſibly be owing to their having no Mines, for otherwiſe, no doubt, they would have been deſtroyed in digging and

labouring to ſatiate the Avarice of their Maſters. The Spaniards employ themſelves generally ſpeaking, either in Commerce or in Farming, for both which no Country can be more happily ſeated. Its native Commodities are of great Value, particularly Cacao; of which, though they have not the greateſt Plenty, yet the Cacao of *Nicaragua* is the largeſt and the fineſt in the World. They have likewiſe Manufactures of ſeveral Kinds, eſpecially of Cotton, which are rare in this Part of the World; and as Trade and Induſtry make the People active and wealthy, ſo the *Spaniſh* Writers obſerve, that they are very high ſpirited, that is, they will not truckle to oppreſſive Governors, or ſubmit tamely to that ill Uſage which they ſee plainly proves the Ruin of their Neighbours.

The City of *Leon* is the Capital of this Province; it ſtands on the Edge of the Lake, and at twenty Miles Diſtance from the *South Sea*. The Plain in which it is ſeated is ſandy, ſurrounded on every Side with fine Meadows, the Houſes are not high built, but ſtrong, and large, with Gardens about them; their Walls Stone, and the Covering Pantile. Beſides the Cathedral, for it is a rich Biſhoprick, there are three Pariſh Churches. In the Year 1685 it was taken and plundered by our Buccaneers under the Command of the Captains *Swan* and *Townly*, who burnt it to the Ground; but it has been ſince rebuilt and fortified. Its Port

Port on the *South Sea* is called *Rialexa*, and is a very good one; it ſtands in a Plain by a ſmall River; it has three Churches and an Hoſpital, and ſerves not only for the carrying on the Trade of *Leon*, but of *Guatimala*. There are noble Warehouſes near the Sea, and many Factors reſide therein; but the Air is bad, and therefore the Place is, generally ſpeaking, but thinly inhabited. It was taken at the ſame time with the City of *Leon*, by the Buccaneers I before mentioned. From this Port, and even at Sea, may be ſeen a burning Mountain juſt above the City laſt mentioned, and thence called by the Seamen, *the Vulcano of* Leon. It was formerly very terrible, but it has not burnt ſo much of late. On the Eaſt Side of the Lake, at the Diſtance of twenty-five Miles from *Leon*, ſtands the City of *Granada*, which is much the better built of the two, and is withal a Place of far greater Trade, as having the Conveniency of ſending Goods by the Lake to *Carthagena*, and other Places. The Navigation of the Lake is tedious, though not dangerous, chiefly on account of the Idleneſs and Want of Application in the *Spaniards*, who from being very active and vigorous as they were when they firſt ſettled in this Country, are now become ſlow, cautious, and ſo wedded to their own Opinions, that Cuſtom is always a ſtronger Argument with them than Reaſon. It is ſaid confidently, perhaps not without

Truth, that there is a great deal of Smuggling carried on by the Help of this Navigation, which certainly might be uſed to much better purpoſe than it is, if the Poſſeſſors of this Country were of the ſame Diſpoſition with other Nations.

But becauſe the River which iſſues from the Lake, and falls by three Mouths or Channels into the *North Sea*, is interrupted with Cataracts, they trouble not themſelves about it; and perhaps they are afraid, if they ſhoud take pains to remove theſe Difficulties, and to open, as they might, a commodious Port on this Side, it might invite Enemies to think not only of plundering, but taking Poſſeſſion of it, which would be a fatal Thing indeed.

The next Province is called by the *Spaniards Coſta Rica*, or the *Rich Coaſt*. It lies upon both Seas, and yet the Communication between them is much obſtructed by the Roughneſs of the Country, and by a long Chain of Mountains which runs acroſs it from Eaſt to Weſt. On the North it is bounded by the Province of *Nicaragua*, and the Sea; on the Weſt by the Province of *Veragua*, on the South by the *Pacific* Ocean, and on the Eaſt by the Province of *Nicaragua*. Its Climate is far from being good, and its Soil is yet worſe, being mountainous, barren, and woody; yet there are in it ſome very conſiderable Places, ſuch as *Carthage*, which as it is the Capital, ſo it is ſeated in the Heart of the

the Province, in the Midway between *Nicoya*, which ſtands on the South, and the Port of *St. John* in the *North Seas*. The Reader will naturally wonder at ſeeing this Account of the Province ſuit ſo ill with its Name; but this Difficulty may be eaſily cleared up, if we conſider that theſe Places received their Appellations when they were firſt diſcovered, and of courſe received ſuch Denominations as ſuited beſt with the Notions of thoſe who impoſed them. The Reaſon they call this *Coſta Rica*, was becauſe its Inhabitants were poſſeſſed of a great deal of Gold, and parted with it freely; whence the *Spaniards* concluded they came by it eaſily, and that there was abundance of it in this Country. In this, however, they were in ſome meaſure miſtaken, for as the Gold was chiefly taken out of their Rivers, ſo the Quantity decreaſed in proportion as the People were diminiſhed, who were wont to ſearch for it, a thing to which none of the *Indians* are much inclined now. Mines however there are in this Country both of Gold and Silver, though not ſo rich as formerly.

The laſt Province in the Audience of *Guatimala* is that of *Veragua*, of no great Extent, but excellent in its Situation. It lies on both Seas, which bound it North and South; on the Eaſt it has part of the *Terra Firma*, on the Weſt the Province of *Coſta Rica*. It is in Length about fifty, and in Breadth about

twenty-five Leagues. The Climate is not to be boaſted of, its Soil very indifferent, the Country being mountainous, and overgrown with Woods, affording very little either of arable or paſture Lands; but then it abounds in what the *Spaniards* eſteem much more than even the Neceſſaries of Life, that is, Gold, of which there is more in this little Province than in all *New Spain* beſides, which is chiefly got out of their Rivers, eſpecially after hard Rains or Storms. The Capital of the Province is the *City of the Conception*, ſo called in honour of the Conception of *Chriſt*. It is both large and rich, ſtanding not far from the Coaſt of the *North Sea*. In the Heart of the Country is the Town of *Santa Fé*, near which there are Gold Mines: On the South Coaſt lies the Town of *Parita*, whence the Gulph ſo called takes its Name. Some underſtanding Perſons have thought it very practicable to make a Deſcent on this Coaſt, and even to take the *City of the Conception* during a War with *Spain*; which I mention as a Matter that may deſerve Enquiry.

FH
MVSEVM
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CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of the Iſlands in* North America.

IN ſpeaking generally of the Iſlands, yet in Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards* in this Part of the World, we ſhall divide them only into the *Lucaios*, and *Antilles*. Of the former we ſhall give ſome Account in this Chapter, and of the latter in the next.

Theſe Iſlands, according to the *Spaniſh* Orthography, are called *Lucayo*. *Herrera* tells us they may be divided (for indeed they are numerous enough to need a Diviſion) into three Parts or Parcels; and of theſe he gives us a better Account than any other Author I have met with. The firſt, ſays he, are the *Bahama Iſlands*, which gave Name to the Channel where the Currents are moſt impetuous. The ſecond are called *de los Organos*, and the third thoſe of *the Martyrs*, which are next to the *Cayos* of the *Tortoiſes* to the Weſtward, which laſt being all Sand, cannot be ſeen at a Diſtance, and therefore many Ships have periſhed on them, and all along that Coaſt of the Channel of *Bahama*, and the Iſlands *Tortugas*. *Havana*, in the Iſland of *Cuba*, is to the Southward, and *Florida* to the Northward; and between them are the aforeſaid Iſlands of *Organos*, *Bahama*, *Martyrs*, and *Tortugas*, having a Channel with a

violent Current, twenty Leagues over in the narroweſt Place, between *Havana* and *Los Matyres*; and fourteen Leagues from *Los Matyres* to *Florida*, between Iſlands to the Weſtward; and the wideſt Part of this Paſſage to the Weſtward is forty Leagues, with many Shoals, and deep Channels; but there is no Way for Ships or Brigantines, only for Canoes; but the Paſſage from *Havana* to come to *Spain*, is along the Channel of *Bahama*, between the ſaid *Havana*, the *Martyres*, the *Lucayos*, and *Cape Canaveral*.

I think it unneceſſary to trouble the Reader with the Names of theſe Iſlands, ſince they are generally uninhabited, though in many of them the Air is temperate, the Soil fruitful; and there is great Plenty both of Wood and Water. We have already obſerved, in the firſt Book, that one of theſe Iſlands was the firſt Land made by *Columbus*; but they were in another Condition then than now, being well inhabited, and thoroughly cultivated, whereas at preſent they are ſo many Deſerts. The ancient Inhabitants were a fairer People than thoſe on the Continent, were ſtronger, and had better Health. The *Spaniards* obſerving this, tranſported them from their own Iſlands in order to make them work in the Mines, where they died by Thouſands, which made their Maſters think of nothing but fetching more, till at laſt the Natives entirely abandoned theſe Iſlands, and returned to the Main,

Main, carrying with them an Antipathy to the *Spaniards*, which Time hath not been able to abate. It is undoubtedly Want of good Policy which has made the *Spaniard* quit Places of ſuch mighty Importance, as theſe Iſlands are to him, and no doubt whenever the Adminiſtration at *Madrid* come to think ſeriouſly of providing for the Safety of their *American* Dominions, they will not fail to direct the planting or fortifying at leaſt one or two of theſe Iſlands, which will not only ſecure the Paſſage of their Fleets, but prove in many other Reſpects of infinite Service.

It is pretty remarkable, that this Error in the *Spaniſh* Government was pointed out ſo long ago as in the Time of our Queen *Elizabeth*, and thence was inferred the Advantage of our ſettling here, which ſeems to have been as little minded, though perhaps it was better underſtood. After the Settlement of *Carolina*, ſome Attempts were made from thence upon theſe Iſlands, but hitherto they have been of little uſe, though we ſtill keep ſome of them, and, if I miſtake not, there was among other Bubbles in the Year 1720, one that went under the Name of the *Bahama Iſlands*, and, as I take it, propoſed a Settlement there. Since then theſe Iſles have been pretty much frequented by Pyrates, till they were by degrees rooted out and deſtroyed. At preſent I doubt our Colonies there are but in a very indifferent Condition, though of the higheſt Conſequence

ſequence to us in ſecuring the Freedom of our Navigation, and curbing the Inſolence of the *Spaniards*, which might be eaſily done by fortifying any one of theſe Iſlands.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Of the Iſlands of* Cuba, Hiſpaniola, *and* Porto Rica.

IN that Part of the *North Sea*, which lies between 8, and 28 Degrees of Latitude, and between 293° and 316° of Longitude, there are ſcattered a Multitude of Iſlands, to which the *Spaniards* have given the general Name of *Antilles*. There have been many Reaſons aſſigned for their being ſo called, but I think none of them very probable, much leſs ſatisfactory, and ſhall not therefore repeat them. Let it ſuffice that the *Spaniards* uſually divide them into larger and leſſer. Among the former are *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, which are to make the Subject of this Chapter. As for the other two Iſlands, which are uſually reckoned among the larger *Antilles*, viz. *Trinidad*, and *Jamaica*, the former is not very conſiderable, and the latter not being now in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, we have not thought it neceſſary to enter into a particular Account of either.

The Iſland of *Cuba* is the moſt conſiderable of the three, and, to ſay the Truth, is one of

of the fineſt Iſlands in the Univerſe. It lies ſtretched out from Weſt to Eaſt, having *Florida* and the *Lucayos* on the North, *Hiſpaniola* on the Weſt, *Jamaica* and the ſouthern Continent on the South, and the Gulph of *Mexico* on the Eaſt. It lies between 19° 30′ and 23° of North Latitude, and from 293° to 304° of Longitude. *Herrera* ſays that it is two hundred and thirty Leagues in Length, and in the broadeſt Part, which is toward the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, forty Leagues, in the narroweſt about twelve.

It lies within the Tropick of *Cancer*, and is by far the moſt temperate and pleaſant of all the *Antilles*. The *Europeans*, who are generally troubled with the Heat of theſe Parts, confeſs themſelves agreeably refreſhed by the cooling Winds, which are felt Morning and Evening throughout the Iſland. As to the Soil, it differs pretty much in the ſeveral Parts of the Iſland. All the weſtern Part of the Country is plain, and if it were properly cultivated might be fruitful, though as it is it muſt be owned that much cannot be ſaid of it on that Head. The eaſtern Part is exceedingly mountainous; and from thence there runs a Chain of Hills almoſt throughout the Iſland; but the farther Weſt you go they are the leſs rough and barren. From theſe Hills there run down to the North and South many Rivers, and amongſt them two pretty conſiderable, which beſides their beſtowing

ſtowing Verdure and Coolneſs as they paſs, are full of Fiſh, and thoſe very large and good. The greateſt Inconveniency in *Cuba*, is its being overgrown with Woods, which whatever the *Spaniards* may pretend, muſt be owing to their own Lazineſs, and nothing elſe; for, as they admit, the Country was well peopled when firſt diſcovered; it muſt neceſſarily have been leſs thick ſet with Trees. Amongſt theſe, however, there are ſome very valuable, particularly Cedars of an enormous Size, and other Sorts of odoriferous Wood. Birds there are of all kinds, more than in any other of the Iſlands; and the *Spaniards* at their firſt Landing having ſuffered ſome black Cattle to ſtray into the Woods, they by degrees turned wild, and have furniſhed the Iſland with ſuch a Breed as make now the principal Part of its Riches. We have before obſerved that its Rivers abound with Fiſh, to which we muſt now add, that they abound alſo with a Creature terrible alike to Fiſh, Beaſts and Men, *viz.* the Aligator. It is thought there are more of this Species here than in any other Part of the known World. Moſt Writers confound this Creature with the Crocodile, and indeed the *Spaniards* have but one Name, *viz. Caymanes*, to expreſs both; yet it is certain that there is a Difference, and amongſt other Particulars, in theſe. The Legs of the Crocodile are longer than thoſe of the Aligator; his Fleſh is not muſky,

as

as the other's is; the Knots on the Back are thicker, higher and firmer; but the plaineſt and moſt diſcernible Difference, and which indeed diſcovers itſelf at firſt Sight is this, that the Crocodile carries his Tail cock'd and crooked, with the Tip turning back, like a Bow, whereas the Aligator drags his on the Ground.

This Iſland was diſcovered by the famous *Chriſtopher Columbus*, who had but a very ſlight View of it, which yet was fatal to the Natives, for they having preſented him with Gold, ſome Pieces of which he carried into *Spain*, it occaſioned an immediate Reſolution to ſettle in it. This was performed in 1511 by *John Velaſquez*, who tranſported hither about 500 Foot and 80 Horſe. He was a haughty, cruel, inexorable Man, and the Treatment the poor People met with from him, was ſuch as we want both Room and Will to relate. The worthy Biſhop of *Chiapa*, who was an Eye-Witneſs of his Barbarity, hath publiſhed it to the World, and computed, that by theſe horrid Severities, near five Millions of People were deſtroyed. Later Writers, inſtead of ſpeaking tenderly of this Matter, and making ſome Amends to their Memory, do all that is in their Power to give this horrid Proceeding the Air of Juſtice by repreſenting the *Indians* as the moſt baſe and wicked Nation that ever lived. *Herrera* tells us, that they were a very good ſort of

of People, and well temper'd. They had, ſays he, Caciques and Towns of two or three hundred Houſes, with ſeveral Families in each of them, as was uſual in *Hiſpaniola*. They had no Religion, as having no Temples, or Idols, or Sacrifices; but they had the Phyſicians, or conjuring Prieſts, as in *Hiſpaniola*, who, it was thought, had Communication with the Devil, and their Queſtions anſwered by him. They faſted three or four Months to obtain that Favour, eating nothing but the Juice of Herbs, and when reduced to extreme Weakneſs, they were worthy of that helliſh Apparition; and to be informed whether the Seaſons of the Year would be favourable or otherwiſe; what Children would be born; whether thoſe born would live, and ſuch like Queſtions. Theſe were their Oracles; and theſe Conjurers they called *Behiques*, who led the People into many Superſtitions and Fopperies, curing the Sick by blowing on them, and ſuch other exterior Actions, mumbling ſome Words between their Teeth. Theſe People of *Cuba* knew that Heaven, the Earth, and other Things, had been created, and ſaid, they had much Information concerning the Flood, and that the World had been deſtroyed by Water from three Perſons that came three ſeveral Ways. Men of above ſeventy Years of Age ſaid, that an old Man, knowing the Deluge was to come, built a great Ship, and went into it with

with his Family, and abundance of Animals; that he ſent out a Crow, which did not return, ſtaying to feed on the dead Bodies, and afterwards returned with a green Branch, with other Particulars, as far as *Noah*'s Son's covering him when drunk, and the other ſcoffing at it; adding, that the *Indians* deſcended from the latter, and therefore had no Coats nor Cloaks; but that the *Spaniards*, deſcending from the other that covered him, were therefore cloathed, and had Horſes.

The true Reaſon, in all Probability, why the *Spaniards* deſtroyed with ſo little Pity ſo vaſt a Number of innocent People, was a covetous Deſire of poſſeſſing the whole Iſland, and all its real and ſuppoſed Riches; for at this time they fancied that the Parts of the Iſland poſſeſſed by the Natives were exceſſively rich in Gold, of which, while they ſuffered them to live, the *Spaniards* did really receive a very large Share. But ſince the Extirpation of the *Indians*, there has been very little, and at preſent there is ſcarce any Gold at all found; which ſome would make a Judgment on the *Spaniards* for their Cruelty. For my part, I think the Matter eaſily unriddled. The Gold, I ſuppoſe, was taken out of the Rivers, which required not only a great deal of Time and Patience, but many Hands, and a perfect Knowledge of the Places where it was to be found. This accounts for the loſing that precious Metal with the People,

People, and ſhews how weak a Point of Policy this Doctrine of Extirpation really is.

The City of *St. Jago de Cuba* is the moſt ancient in the Iſland, and is, generally ſpeaking, eſteemed its Capital, though now the Governor reſides at the *Havana*, and only ſuch of the *Spaniards* as have Eſtates on the Iſland, and are contented with their Poſſeſſions, without meddling much in Trade, inhabit this Place, which has a declining Aſpect, and preſerves only the Ruins of its former Greatneſs. Yet even this City has a noble, ſafe and commodious Port, inferior to the *Havana* only in its Situation, that being on the North Weſt Side of the Iſland, towards the Channel of *Bahama*, whereas *St. Jago de Cuba* lies on the North Eaſt, and commands the windward Paſſage.

As for the City and Port of *Havana*, it ſtands almoſt directly ſouth of *Cape Florida*, and conſequently commands the Gulph of that Name. It was built by *James Velaſquez*, who, as we have before obſerved, conquered the Iſland of *Cuba*, and ſettled a little Town, which was the Mother of this, in 1511. It was originally called *the Port of Carennas*; afterwards, when the City by its Alteration of Site and Encreaſe of Wealth grew conſiderable, it was called *St. Chriſtopher of the Havana*. Theſe Alterations happened but by ſlow Degrees, as we may conceive from the following Account of the

Accidents

Accidents which have befallen it. In 1536 it was taken by a *French* Pirate, and was of ſo inconſiderable a Value, that it was ranſomed for ſeven hundred Pieces of Eight. It was taken ſometime after by the *Engliſh*, a ſecond Time by the *French*; nor was it, till the Reign of *Philip* II. of *Spain*, that the Importance of it was thoroughly underſtood, and any Care taken in fortifying it. What was then done, proved not ſufficient, and moſt of the Fortifications were in a very bad Condition, when *Francis Coreal* was there in 1666, and very little better when he viſited it again, twenty Years afterwards. Since the Acceſſion of the Houſe of *Bourbon* to the Throne of *Spain*, more Pains have been taken about it, and therefore we ſhall deſcribe firſt the City, and then the Port, in the Condition they now are.

The City of *Havanna*, according to the laſt and moſt exact Map of theſe Parts, lies under 23° 12′ of Latitude, and conſequently within 20′ of the Tropick of *Cancer*; and its Longitude Weſt from *London* is 82° 13′. It ſtands on the Weſt Side of the Harbour, in a very beautiful and pleaſant Plain, having the Sea before it, and being ſurrounded on all Sides by two Branches of the River *Lagida*. The Buildings are fair, but not high, built of Stone, and make a very good Appearance, though it is ſaid they are but meanly furniſhed. Here are eleven Churches and

Monaſteries, and two handſome Hoſpitals. The Churches are rich and magnificent; that dedicated to St. *Clara* having ſeven Altars, all adorned with Plate to a great Value; and the Monaſtery adjoining contains a hundred Nuns with their Servants, all habited in Blue. It is not, as ſome have reported, a Biſhop's See, though the Biſhop generally reſides there, but the Cathedral is at St. *Jago*, and the Revenue of this Prelate not leſs than fifty thouſand Pieces of Eight *per Annum*. Authors differ exceedingly as to the Number of Inhabitants in this City. A *Spaniſh* Writer, who was there in 1700, and who had Reaſon to be well acquainted with the Place, computed them at twenty-ſix thouſand; and we may very well ſuppoſe that they are increaſed ſince. They are a more polite and ſociable People than the Inhabitants of any of the Ports on the Continent, and of late imitate the *French* both in their Dreſs and in their Manners. One Part of the Iſland is under the Juriſdiction of this City, as the other is under that of St. *Jago*; but the Diſtrict belonging to the *Havana* is by far the beſt cultivated, and has the moſt Towns and Villages in it; and theſe are not above ſix in Number, which ſhews how ſtrangely Things are managed in this Part of the World.

The Port is not only the beſt in the *Weſt Indies*, but perhaps one of the fineſt in the Univerſe: It is ſo capacious, that a thouſand Sail

Sail of Ships may ride there commodiouſly without either Cable or Anchor; and there is, generally ſpeaking, ſix Fathom Water in the Bay. The Entrance is by a Channel about ¼ of a Mile in Length, which is pretty narrow, and through it you come into the Bay, which lies like a Baſon at the Bottom of it, with a ſmall Iſland ſeated in the Eaſt Corner thereof. At the Entrance of the Channel there are two ſtrong Caſtles, which are ſuppoſed to be capable of defending the Place againſt any Number of Ships. The firſt of theſe is ſtyled *El Morro*, on the Eaſt Side of the Channel. It is a kind of a Triangle fortified with Baſtions, on which are mounted about forty Pieces of Cannon, carrying a Ball of twenty-four Pound Weight. From this Caſtle there runs a Line, mounted with twelve heavy Cannon, ſtyled *the twelve Apoſtles*, almoſt level with the Water, and carrying each a Ball of ſix and thirty Pounds. On the other Side of the Channel ſtands a ſtrong Fort, called *the Puntal* by ſome Authors, and indeed by the *Spaniſh* Writer I moſtly uſe, ſtyled *Meſa de Maria:* it is a regular Square, with good Baſtions, well mounted with Cannon. Between this City and the Sea there is a Watch-Tower, where a Man ſits in a round Lanthorn at the Top, and on the Appearance of Ships at Sea, puts out as many Flags from thence as there are Sail. Some Writers place this Tower on

the other Side the Channel: perhaps a new one may be built there. The third is ſtyled *the Fort:* it is a ſmall, but ſtrong Work on the Weſt Side, towards the End of the narrow Channel, with four large Baſtions and a Platform, mounted with ſixty Pieces of heavy Cannon. Beſides theſe there are two Forts, one on the Eaſt Side, called *Cojemar*, the other on the Weſt, called *the Fort of Chorrera*, of twelve Guns each. The Governor is, generally ſpeaking, a Perſon of known Courage and Capacity, and has a very numerous Garriſon, as indeed he ought to have, conſidering that it is very properly ſtyled *the Key of the Weſt Indies*; and if they loſt it, the whole of the *Spaniſh* Negotiation muſt lie at the Mercy of the Power poſſeſſed thereof. If ever this Place ſhould be attacked by us, it muſt be by a Land Force, for it is impoſſible to make any Impreſſion here by a Fleet only. The Caſtles, which defend the Channel, muſt be taken before we can pretend to enter the Port; and indeed were they once taken, the reſt of the Deſign would eaſily ſucceed.

We are now to ſpeak of the Commerce in this Port, which is the moſt conſiderable of any in *America*. We will, for the Sake of Perſpicuity, divide it into the particular Commerce of the *Iſle of Cuba*, and into the general by the *Galleons*. The former conſiſts in Hides, uſually ſtyled, *of the Havana*, which

which are excellent and of great Value; Sugar, which is alſo a good Commodity; Tobacco, admirable in its kind; Ginger, Maſtic, Alloes, Sarſaparilla, other Drugs, and great Quantities of Tortoiſeſhell. It muſt be obſerved, that the Commerce of the Iſland of *Cuba* is not entirely confined to the *Havana*, but extends itſelf to other Ports, particularly St. *Jago*, where there are frequently many little Veſſels from the *Canaries*, and other Parts, which trade entirely for the Commodities of the Country. As to the general Commerce, this Port is the Place of Rendezvous for all the Ships which return into *Spain* from the *Indies*; ſo that here are frequently fifty or ſixty Sail in the Port at once. While they ride here, there is a Fair kept on Shore, where they trade for immenſe Sums, and with ſo great Honour, that it is ſaid they never open the Bales, but take the Goods according to the Bills of Parcels, without any Inſpection. While the Fleet is in the Bay, Proviſions are exceſſively dear on Shore, and Money is ſo plenty, that a *Spaniard* expects half a Piece of Eight a Day from a Male Slave, and half as much from a Female, out of what they earn by their Labour. The Fleet generally ſails from thence through the Channel of *Bahama*, in the Month of *September*, and is the richeſt in the World, ſince in Silver and Merchandize there is ſeldom leſs than thirty Millions of Pieces of Eight on board, or ſix

Millions ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds of our Money. Dr. *Gemelli Careri*, who was here in 1698, tells us of an extraordinary Pearl that he ſaw here; it was in Shape a perfect Pear, in Weight ſixty Grains, and was abſolutely clear and ripe. This Pearl was taken at *Panama* by a Black belonging to a Prieſt, who refuſed to ſell it to the Viceroy of *Peru* for ſeventy thouſand Pieces of Eight, ſaying, He would carry it to his Majeſty himſelf; but he died at the *Havana*; and the Pearl was ſent to the King by another Prieſt to whom he confided it.

There are in the Iſland of *Cuba* ſome other good Ports, particularly that of *Honda*, which lies to the Weſtward of the *Havana*, and is very little inferior to it in any Reſpect, though it is not much frequented. Some other Creeks alſo might be improved into better Ports than moſt on the Continent, but for Want of Inhabitants they are neglected. For the ſame Reaſon the Copper Mines are not wrought to any very conſiderable Profit, and perhaps they would not be wrought at all, but that out of them is taken the Metal requiſite for making the Braſs Cannon, not only for the Fortifications here, but throughout the *Weſt Indies*. The *French* have more than once diſcovered an Inclination to ſettle on *Cuba*, as well as they have done on *Hiſpaniola*; but the Treaty of *Utrecht* has put an End to this Project,

Project, ſince it gives us an unqueſtionable Right to hinder them if ever they ſhould attempt it.

The Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, which is alſo called *St. Domingo*, was by the Natives ſtyled *Hayti*. It lies in the midſt, between *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and *Porto Rico*, and is ſeparated from the laſt only by a narrow Channel. It is generally ſtyled the ſecond of theſe Iſlands, *Cuba* being held the firſt; but upon a more exact Computation, it is found at leaſt as large, extending in Length from Eaſt to Weſt four hundred and eighty Miles, and in Breadth from North to South, about ninety. It is ſurrounded by little Iſlands which are very convenient, and of great Advantage to the Inhabitants. The Climate is according to its Situation, extremely hot, yet not without ſome Qualification from the Winds, which blow here at certain Seaſons: It alſo rains here at certain times exceſſively, yet not in all Places alike; but on the Whole it cannot be ſaid that the Air is by any means comparable to that of *Cuba*. The Soil alſo differs very conſiderably, being in ſome Places extremely rich and fertile, in others miſerably poor and barren.

*Chriſtopher Columbus* diſcovered this Country in 1492, as we have ſhewn in the former Book. He built here the Cities of *St. Domingo* and *Iſabella*. By degrees the *Spaniards* conquered and deſtroyed the Inhabi-

tants, though not without a great deal of Reſiſtance, as will be eaſily conceived when the Reader is told, that in the Extirpation of theſe People there were not leſs than three Millions of Souls deſtroyed. While the Natives enjoyed their Poſſeſſions, the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants lived much more happily, and enjoyed much greater Affluence than they have done ſince; for theſe People cultivated their Lands, ſupplied them with Fiſh, and brought them ſome ſmall Quantities of Gold, wherever they had it; whereas now the far greater Part of what the *Spaniards* claim rather than poſſeſs, is Deſert, and produces them little or nothing.

The *Spaniards* were for many Years the ſole Poſſeſſors of this Iſland, and for ſome part of that Time it was a very flouriſhing Colony; for as it was the firſt of their Diſcoveries, ſo it was the Center of their Commerce in theſe Parts; but when *Peru* fell into their Hands, and they began to make great Additions to their Territories on the Continent of *North America*, this Iſland began to be ſlighted, which encouraged the *French* about the Middle of the laſt Century to fix themſelves on the North Side of the Iſland, whence at firſt they might have eaſily been driven; but they are now grown ſo ſtrong, and have improved their Settlements ſo much, that it would be not only impracticable to attempt the removing them, but they

they might, if they pleaſed, without any conſiderable Difficulty, make themſelves Maſters of the whole Iſland, which in all Probability they would have done, if the Benefits which they draw from the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniards* were not greater than any which could be derived from their Expulſion.

The Commodities of this Country are Hides, Sugar, Ginger, Cocoa, Wax, Honey, Ambergreaſe, various kinds of Woods for the Uſe of Dyers. There were formerly Mines of Gold, the richeſt that ever were heard of, and Mines of Silver of very conſiderable Value, but they are now abandoned as not worth the working; yet for all this, ſome of the old *Spaniſh* Planters live here in great State and Plenty, and which is more extraordinary, conſidering how ill this Climate agrees with new Comers, they live in good Health, and to great Ages, ſome of them having reached to a hundred and twenty, and many of them exceeding fourſcore.

The Capital of the whole Iſland is the City of *St. Domingo*. It is ſeated on the South Side of the Iſland, at the Mouth of the River of *Ozama*, in a fine Plain, which renders it extremely pleaſant, and ſhews it to great Advantage from the Sea. It is a large well-built City, and contains ſeveral Edifices more magnificent than is uſual in the *Indies*. It has a fine Cathedral, ſeven large Monaſteries,

ries, and two Nunneries; the Governor-General of the *Spaniſh* Iſlands reſides here, as alſo the Judges of the Royal Courts, which makes it the ſupreme Seat of Juſtice, and thereby ſecures it from falling into Ruin, as otherwiſe it certainly would do through the Loſs of Trade. Beſides, it is alſo the Seat of an Archbiſhop, to whom the Biſhops of the *Conception* in this Iſland, of *St. John de Porto Rico*, of *St. Jago de Cuba*, of *Venezuela* in *New Caſtile*, and of *Honduras*, are Suffragans: Whence it is eaſy to conceive that its principal Inhabitants are Lawyers and Clergy. It has alſo a good Port, and the greateſt Part of the Trade that is carried on by the *Spaniards* is here. In 1586 it was taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, who held it a whole Month, and then burnt a Part of it, but ſpared the reſt on the Inhabitants agreeing to give him ſixty thouſand Pieces of Eight by way of Ranſom. It quickly recovered its Luſtre, and would have maintained it if Trade had not decayed; as it is, it makes a good Appearance, and the Number of its Inhabitants, including People of all Complexions, Negroes as well as *Spaniards*, is thought to exceed twenty-five thouſand, and ſome ſay there are many more.

Other Cities there were in this Iſland, which formerly made a conſiderable Figure, ſuch as that of the *Conception*, which is a Biſhop's See, *St. Jago Cavalleros*, inhabited by

by Buccaneers or Hunters; and then as to Ports, they had *Puerta de la Plata*, and many others, which were deſtroyed ſo often by Pirates, that at length they ſunk into Fiſhing Villages, no longer worth the taking. Of late Years it is ſaid the *Spaniſh* Affairs in this Iſland are on the mending hand.

The Streight between the Iſlands of *Cuba* and *Hiſpaniola*, which is about 18 Leagues over, is that which is ſo well known to us by the Name of *the Windward Paſſage*, by which our Ships ſometimes return from *Jamaica*; but as this Paſſage is both difficult and dangerous, it is ſeldom that Ships make Choice of it, but on the contrary, ſail quite round the Iſland of *Cuba*, and ſo through the Gulph of *Florida*. Hence in few Words, the Importance of keeping theſe Paſſages free and open is made apparent, for otherwiſe not only our Navigation ſuffers, but by degrees the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Jamaica* muſt be undone, and that Iſland return into the Hands of its old Poſſeſſors the *Spaniards*, even without the Trouble of an Invaſion.

*St. John de Porto Rico*, though it be leſs than either *Cuba* or *Hiſpaniola*, is however a very fine Iſland. It is in Length from Eaſt to Weſt about 150 Miles, in Breadth between 50 and 60; the Midſt of the Iſland is in the Latitude of 18°. As to the Climate, it is exceſſively hot in Summer, which laſts from *May* to *September*; and very moiſt and rainy in

in the Winter; the Soil however is extremely rich and fertile, abounding in fine Meadows, well ſtocked with wild Cattle, which however were originally of *Spaniſh* Breed.

This Iſland, as we have obſerved elſewhere, was by its ancient Inhabitants ſtyled *Boriquen*; it was diſcovered by Admiral *Columbus* in 1493, who called it by the Name of *Saint John the Baptiſt*. It coſt the *Spaniards* however a good deal of Trouble to reduce it, the Inhabitants being a brave gallant People, and extremely fond of Liberty. By degrees, notwithſtanding, and by dint of the mighty Advantages they had over them in the Art of War, the new Comers not only conquered, but extirpated the Natives, though at their firſt Arrival they were not leſs than ſix hundred thouſand. The Conſequence was the ſame here as elſewhere, the Deſtruction of the People has been the Ruin of the Iſland; and there is no longer any conſiderable Quantity of Gold to be met with here, which formerly was found in vaſt Quantities, and for the Sake of which theſe poor innocent People were ſlaughtered; and ſuch Effects muſt in the Nature of things always attend on ſuch baſe and bloody Expedients.

The Capital of the Iſland is the City of *Porto Rico*, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been ſo called from the Excellence of its Port, which is indeed as good as can be, and where the largeſt Ships may lie in the utmoſt Safety.

Safety. *Porto Rico* ſtands on the North Side of the Iſland, in another joined to the Continent by a Cauſeway, which runs directly croſs the Harbour. It is the Place of Reſidence of the King of *Spain*'s Governor, and is likewiſe a Biſhop's See, large and well built, and better inhabited than moſt *Spaniſh* Cities, the true Reaſon of which is its being the Center of the contraband Trade carried on by the *Engliſh* and *French*, with the King of *Spain*'s Subjects, notwithſtanding the Severity of the Laws, and the extraordinary Precautions taken to prevent it. There is a very ſtrong Citadel built on the South Weſt Side of the Place, which commands and defends it; and beſides this there is a very ſtrong Caſtle, which protects the Port. In 1595 Sir *Francis Drake* was here, and burnt all the Ships; but foreſeeing that he ſhould not be able to keep the Place without abandoning all his other Deſigns, he left it. Three Years afterwards the Earl of *Cumberland* reduced it, and had ſome Thoughts of keeping it, but loſing 400 Men in the Space of a Month by a contagious Diſeaſe, he was glad to depart, carrying with him ſeventy Pieces of Cannon, and an immenſe Booty in Plate. In 1615 the *Dutch* ſent a ſtrong Fleet hither, but with no great Succeſs, for they only took and plundered the City, not being able to reduce the Caſtle, which with the other Forts are now in a better Condition than ever, this

Harbour

Harbour having been found of vaſt Uſe, ſince the *Spaniards* have thought it their Intereſt to diſturb our Commerce.

The principal Commodities, in which the Traders of *Porto Rico* deal, are Sugar, Ginger, Hides, Cotton-thread, or Raw Cotton, Caſſia, Maſtick, *&c.* They have alſo great Quantities of Salt, and make a conſiderable Profit of the Sale of their Oranges and Lemons, as Fruit, and in Sweetmeats. They have a great many good Veſſels, in which they ſail to various Parts of *America*; and this it is that affords them an Opportunity of carrying on the illicit Trade before-mentioned. Beſides *Porto Rico*, there are ſeveral conſiderable Towns, ſuch as *Arezibo*, *Guadiamila*, *St. Germain*, &c. The Genius of the People, and the convenient Situation of this Iſland, would render it the moſt flouriſhing of all the *Spaniſh* Colonies, if ſome great Inconveniencies did not keep the People under. Theſe are principally three; great Droughts which are but too frequent, and which bring the Inhabitants to the very Point of ſtarving; Hurricanes, which happen alſo very often, and do incredible Miſchiefs at Sea and on Shore; and laſtly, the Deſcents of Privateers, which have been ſo frequent and ſo fatal, that all the Sea-Ports have been ruined over and over; and perhaps this is one Reaſon why the *Guarda Coſtas*, fitted out from *Porto Rico*, are remarkably cruel. It is not eaſy to fix

fix the Number of People upon this Iſland; but ſome who pretend to be extremely well acquainted therewith, aſſure us that they do not exceed ten thouſand.

The Iſland of *Mona*, which is very ſmall, according to ſome Writers not above three Leagues in Circuit, lies between *Porto Rico* and *St. Domingo*. Its Climate and Soil are ſaid to be excellent; there is great Plenty of good Water, and the Oranges that grow here are by much the largeſt and fineſt in *America*. It is well peopled for its Extent; and as it is under a particular Governor for the King of *Spain*, we thought it deſerved particular Notice.

## CHAP. X.

### *Of* Peruviana, *or* South America *in general.*

THIS vaſt Country is a kind of triangular Peninſula, joyned to *North America* by the Iſthmus of *Darien*, and on every other Side ſurrounded by the Sea. On the North it hath the *Antilles* and the *North Sea*, on the Eaſt the *Spaniſh America*, which is all that we have to deal with; hath beſides the Sea the *Portugueze* Settlements in *Braſil*; on the South lie the Streights of *Magellan*, and on the Weſt that vaſt Ocean which we call the *Pacific* Ocean. On this Side of the *South Sea* the *Spaniſh* Poſſeſſions reach from the Iſthmus

Iſthmus of *Panama* to the Streights of *Magellan*; but then they are far from reaching from the Sea Coaſt to the Heart of the Country. On the *North Sea*, their Territories reach no farther than the Equinoctial on one Side, and commence again at the *Rio de la Plata* on the other, the large Country of *Braſil* taking up the middle Space. From the *Rio de la Plata* the *Spaniards* claim rather than poſſeſs all the Coaſt to the Streights of *Magellan*.

The large Provinces of *Terra Firma*, *Quito*, and *Peru*, lie entirely within the Torrid Zone, and are conſequently extremely hot. The Country of *Chili*, and the *Terra Magellanica* lie in the Southern temperate Zone. All the Provinces however are, in point of Soil, ſufficiently fruitful; and, if we conſider the immenſe Quantities of Silver and Gold which have been drawn out of its Bowels, it may well be reputed the richeſt Country in the Globe. Its Rivers we ſhall ſpeak of in the particular Provinces through which they paſs, as alſo of the Commodities in which it abounds; for here we intend to ſpeak only of Things in general, that the Reader may the better apprehend what follows, and that we may not be under a Neceſſity of making frequent Repetitions.

The Countries which are already in the Hands of the *Spaniards* are of ſo great Extent, and afford ſuch vaſt Riches, that they have

have no Temptation to make either Conqueſt or Diſcoveries; and as the ſame thing may be ſaid of the *Portugueze* Settlements in *Braſil*, ſo from thence we gather with the utmoſt Certainty, that there is a very large Country in *South America*, altogether undiſcovered, or at leaſt unpoſſeſs'd by any *European* Nation. If any one deſires to be more particularly informed concerning this Point, let him examine the beſt Maps of *South America* which have been publiſhed, and all the credible Relations that have come from thoſe Parts, and they will find that this undiſcovered Country, of which I ſpeak, muſt be in Length near two thouſand Miles from Eaſt to Weſt, and near a thouſand broad from North to South. The People poſſeſſed of theſe Parts are not only the original Inhabitants, but alſo vaſt Numbers of *Indians*, who have fled hither from the Cruelties of the *Spaniards*; and if we conſider their Multitudes, and the vaſt Advantages they have from the Situation of the Countries in which they dwell, we ſhall ſee no juſt Reaſon to ſuppoſe they ever will be conquered, unleſs it be by the Miſſionaries, in the Manner by which they have ſubdued the People of *Paraguay*. However it be, this unknown Country contains a great deal more Land, as well as many more People, than all the Provinces of the *Spaniſh* Empire; and there is good Reaſon to believe that it is infinitely more

rich in Silver, Gold, Jewels, as well as in Cattle, Corn, Sugar, rich Drugs, and fine Fruits. Of this we can ſcarce doubt, if we reflect on what the beſt *Spaniſh* Writers affirm, that at the Time *Pizarro* made his firſt Irruption into this Country of *Peru*, he found the Kitchen-Utenſils in the meaneſt Houſes of Gold, and their Roofs covered with Tiles of the ſame Metal; but there are no ſuch great Quantities of Gold now to be had, whence we ought to conclude, that this immenſe Plenty of that precious Metal came from the inland Parts of which we have been ſpeaking.

All the Provinces in *South America* are ſubject to one Governor, who is ſtyled Viceroy, and Captain-General of *Peru*, whoſe Reſidence is at *Lima*. Some Writers do indeed diſtinguiſh between theſe two Officers and the Perſons poſſeſſed of them, but without any juſt Grounds; for though it be true that the Commiſſions, Salaries, and Powers of theſe Offices are diſtinct, yet it is certain they are both in the ſame Perſon, though it muſt be allowed that in *Mexico* there are ſometimes a Viceroy and a Captain-General. But as it would be ſimply impoſſible for one Man to govern abſolutely and by his own Direction, Territories ſo far diſtant from each other, and of ſuch vaſt Extent, his Province is divided into ſeveral Audiences, *viz. Panama, Terra Firma, Chuquiſaca, Quito, Lima,*

*Lima*, and *Chili*; ſo that the Viceroy enjoys only a Pre-eminence, with a Reſervation in ſome Caſes of Appeals, and the ſupreme Direction of military Affairs; in other Reſpects thoſe Audiences are in a manner independent of them.

Audiences differ not much from what the *French* call *Parliaments*; each of them conſiſts of a certain Number of Judges conſtituted by his Catholick Majeſty, with Officers dependent upon them, the whole under the Direction of a Preſient, who is ſupreme throughout his Juriſdiction. Every Audience is divided into four Chambers, or Royal Courts; the firſt of theſe is ſtyled *the Chamber of Juſtice*; and in this all things are done which relate to the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs. The next is the *criminal Court*. The third is in the Nature of the King's *Exchequer*, to which belong all Matters relating to the Revenue. The laſt is ſtyled *the Chamber of Treaſure*, or *Court of Aids*; and it takes Care of the Royal Funds, and whatever belongs to the Crown in Property, whereas the Exchequer meddles only with Rents, Duties, Fines, and in ſhort with the current Revenue.

The Viceroy and the Preſidents are uſually conſtituted for ſeven Years; the Governors of ſome few Places of Importance for five Years; but the far greater part of the Governors enjoy their Authority only for three

Years, and owe their Preferment entirely to the Will and Pleaſure of the Viceroys. This Scheme of the *Spaniſh* Policy is plainly to prevent theſe great Officers from making many Creatures, and eſtabliſhing an extenſive Intereſt in their reſpective Juriſdictions, whence very miſchievous Conſequences might be feared in a Country at ſuch a vaſt Diſtance from the Seat of its Sovereign's Reſidence. But if in this Reſpect there may be ſome Advantages, there are alſo many and great Inconveniencies follow from it.

To ſay the Truth, this very Rule which may paſs for the Conſtitution of the *Spaniſh America*, is the Source of all the Evils complained of in that Government. For Magiſtrates of all Ranks, knowing exactly how long their Power is to continue, whether they behave ill or well, think of nothing but pillaging the People, and raiſing vaſt Eſtates. It appears to them a kind of Harveſt, with this additional Circumſtance, that a Man has but one in his Life-time. Thus the King's Servants are, generally ſpeaking, a Race of Thieves, and the Rulers of the People a Succeſſion of Robbers. In ſuch a Country what can be expected but Corruption and Miſmanagement? from whence it follows, that the Government is weak and hated, and the Subjects in general uneaſy and oppreſſed. It may be ſaid that the Court of *Madrid* muſt ſome time or other think of a Reformation; but if

if they ſhould, another Queſtion would ariſe, Whether, when they may think of it, it will be practicable? For, when an evil Management has prevailed for Ages, it is ſometimes found to be neither ſafe nor prudent to attempt ſetting Things right all at once; and it is even doubtful whether a gradual Amendment could now be brought about.

The ſettled Appointment of the Viceroy of *Peru* is forty thouſand Pieces of Eight a Year, beſides occaſional Salaries, which amount to twice as much, and Perquiſites which exceed all Computation. I have ſeen a *Spaniſh* Hiſtory of the Viceroys of *Peru* from the Time of *Francis Pizarro* to 1720, when the Prince *de Santa Bueno* had that Title, who was the thirtieth. When this high Office is vacant, as it frequently is by Death, the Government is adminiſtered by the Royal Audience, that is, the Audience of *Lima*. If I ſhould attempt to ſpeak of the Number of People in *South America*, I muſt do it from very indifferent Authority, and therefore I refer the Reader to the firſt Chapter of this Book. I ſhall now proceed to a diſtinct Account of the ſeveral Juriſdictions within the Limits of *Peru*.

## CHAP. X.

### *Of the* New, *or* Golden Caſtile; *called alſo the* Terra Firma.

THE frequent Alterations which the *Spaniards* have made not only in the Names, but in the Boundaries and Diſtribution of the Provinces in *South America*, render it impoſſible for us to proceed with the ſame Regularity in the Deſcription of them as we did in thoſe of *Mexico*; all that we can do, is to follow that Method which appears to us the cleareſt and the moſt conciſe, and to omit nothing which may contribute to the Reader's obtaining a diſtinct Notion of theſe Parts.

The Province of *New Caſtile* was diſcovered by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, in his third Voyage, and was ſo called by his Sailors, who were moſt of them Natives of *Old Caſtile*. It afterwards obtained the Name of the *Golden Caſtile*, from the large Quantities of that Metal found therein, particularly in the Diſtrict of *Uraba*. It is a very large Territory, bounded by the Sea, on the North; by *Caribana* and *Guiana* on the Eaſt; by *Peru*, and the Country of the *Amazons* on the South; and by the *Pacific* Ocean on the Weſt. As to the Climate, it cannot be called either wholeſome or pleaſant, ſince in one Part of the Year they are ſcorched with the burning

burning Rays of the Sun, and in the other drowned with continual Rains. The Soil is very different, for in ſome Places, though there is a perpetual Verdure, yet the Trees produce little or no Fruit, and in other Parts there is a vaſt Plenty of all things, inſomuch that they have two Harveſts, and their Meadows feed prodigious Multitudes of Cattle. The Mountains abound with Lions, Tygers, and all ſorts of wild Beaſts. Rivers and Rivulets there are in abundance; but ſome of them are ſo far from being wholeſome, that their Waters are dangerous, and not fit to be drank. There were formerly very rich Mines of Gold in this Province, but they are now in a manner exhauſted, yet ſome Remains there are, as well as Silver and Iron Mines, which have been ſince open'd. On the Sea Coaſt there was formerly a very rich Pearl Fiſhery, but it is now in ſome meaſure wore out.

The Natives of this Part of *America* were never thoroughly conquered, and in all human Probability never will, for on the one hand they are a very warlike, gallant People, and on the other hand they hate the *Spaniards* to a Degree which Words can hardly expreſs. Our Privateers have frequently made uſe of them in their Expeditions, and have obſerved this Averſion of theirs to the *Spaniards* to extend ſo far as not to give or to receive Quarter from them. It is not however to be expected that the *Indians* ſhould

do much towards the entire Conqueſt of theſe Parts from the *Spaniard*; firſt, becauſe they are not very numerous or powerful; and, ſecondly, becauſe they are of a fickle inconſtant Diſpoſition, and in reality not cordially affected to any *Europeans*, as may be eaſily gathered, by a Compariſon of the many Relations we have of the Expeditions of the Buccaneers into this Province, which they have invaded more frequently than any other.

This extenſive Country is divided, for the Sake of its more eaſy Government, into ſeveral Diſtricts, of all which we ſhall treat in their Order, from that Part of the Country which borders on *North America*, to the great Country of *Guiana*, which lies to the South of the Province of which we are now ſpeaking. But in as much as entering into a particular Detail of the Circumſtances of each Diſtrict in Point of Soil, Climate, Commodities, *&c.* would extend this Tract much too far, we will ſpeak only of ſuch Places as are beſt known, and their Commerce.

The moſt Northern Part of the *New Caſtile* is that which is ſtyled *the Iſthmus of Darien*; and the principal City therein was that of *Nombre de Dios*. This City, which is now entirely abandoned, ſtood at the Diſtance of about twenty Miles Eaſt of *Porto Bello*. It was ſeated on the Shore in the midſt of a great Wood, which render'd it extremely

extremely inconvenient, and exceſſively unwholeſome. Beſides this, there was a Marſh on the Weſt Side of the Town, which in the rainy Seaſon ſent up peſtilential Vapours; the Road, for it cannot well be called a Harbour, was neither ſafe nor commodious; and yet with all theſe Inconveniencies *Nombre de Dios* would have continued a Place of great Trade and Conſequence, if it had not been deſtroyed over and over by the *Engliſh*, who ſometimes burnt, ſometimes ranſomed it, which compelled its Inhabitants to look out for ſome Place with a better Port, and more capable of being fortified than the City of *Nombre de Dios* was.

The Place they fixed on was that which is now called *Puerto Bello*, diſcovered, as we have before obſerved, by *Chriſtopher Columbus* in 1507. It ſtands about the Middle of the narroweſt Part of the Iſthmus, and not above fifty Miles from *Panama*, which is on the other Side. Its Situation is very agreeable, ſtanding about a quarter of a Mile from the Harbour, in a fine Plain watered by three Rivulets. It conſiſts of two good Streets, and ſome little Outlets; in it there are two good Churches, a handſome Houſe for the Governor, an Exchange for the Merchants, a Cuſtom-houſe, and a great Number of Warehouſes. After all it is no very conſiderable Place, excluſive of the Trade carried on there during the Fair, for it is an open Town,

Town, without either Wall or Fortification; all the Caſtles and Forts, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, being intended to protect the Harbour only. The Air is as unwholeſome as that of *Nombre de Dios*, though there are not ſo many Marſhes about it. The Sea, when it ebbs, leaves a vaſt Quantity of black ſtinking Mud upon the Beach, from whence there exhales an intolerable noiſome Vapour, which is ſuppoſed to be the chief Cauſe of the Unwholeſomneſs of the Place. Be that as it will, certain it is, that at every annual Fair near four hundred People are carried off by the Maladies which reign here, particularly a kind of peſtilential Fever, which cauſing a Mortification in the Entrails, carries off the Patient in three Days. It is no wonder therefore, that except at this trading Seaſon, *Porto Bello* is very thinly inhabited. To ſay the Truth, there are none reſide here but what are obliged to it on account of their Employments, either in the Army, or in the Commerce: So that there are not reckoned in it above two or three thouſand People, the Garriſon included.

The Harbour of *Porto Bello*, which very well deſerves that Name, is both large and ſafe; it is formed by a Peninſula, about four Miles in Length, joyned to the main Land by a very narrow Iſthmus. The Harbour is about half a Mile over at its Mouth, but it grows wider as you enter it farther, which renders

renders it very commodious, as well as very ſafe. According to a *Spaniſh* Plan, wherein the Soundings are very exactly laid down, there are about twenty Fathoms Water at the Entrance of this Port, towards the North Coaſt, and fourteen on the South, and about ten Fathom in the Midſt of the Harbour all the Way. It is certain that moſt of our Geographers and other Writers have fallen into great Miſtakes about this Place. To ſpeak impartially, there are ſuch wide Variations in their Accounts, that it is no eaſy Matter to diſtinguiſh the Truth. Some Authors place it in the Latitude of 9° 54′, and in the Longitude of 82° 52′, whereas in reality it lies in 9° 33′ Latitude, and in 79° 45′ Longitude, that is, Weſt from *London*. As to its Fortifications, they have been ſo often ruined and rebuilt, and beſides this have ſo frequently changed their Names, that it is a very difficult Matter to give a tolerable Account of them. On the North Side of the Harbour there ſtood formerly a ſtrong Fort, called *St. Philip*. In my *Spaniſh* Map this is called *Fort de la Mare*, but of late it has been ſtyled *Caſtillo del Hierro*, or the *Iron Caſtle*. Oppoſite to this, on the other Side of the Bay, ſtood the Fort of *St. Jago*, called in my Map *Forto Grande*. A little lower, that is, between this Fort and the Town, ſtood the *Caſtillo de la Gloria*, or *Caſtle of Glory*, an irregular Fortification, but the ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt of them all. In the Town itſelf, but open towards the Sea, ſtood Fort *St. Michael*, which ſeems to be that which was lately ſtyled *St. Jerome's Caſtle.*

In ſpite of all the Pains taken to fortify it, there are few Places which have fallen oftner into the Hands of an Enemy than *Porto Bello.* In 1595, before it was half finiſhed, it was taken and ranſomed by the famous Sir *Francis Drake*, who died, and was thrown overboard in the Harbour. In 1601 it was taken again by Capt. *Parker*, though it had then as many Forts as it had lately. In 1669 it was taken, after a very obſtinate Defence, by Capt. *Morgan* and his Buccaneers. In 1678, Capt. *Croxon*, at the Head of another Body of Freebooters, ſurprized and plundered the Town, though they did not make themſelves Maſters of the Forts: And finally, in 1739, it was taken, and all its Fortifications demoliſhed by Admiral *Vernon*, with ſix Ships only. We have no Room to mention the Particulars of that glorious Action, nor indeed is it neceſſary, ſince all the World is well acquainted with it, and with the incredible Damage the *Spaniards* have received thereby: This Port being now laid entirely open, neither can it be ever refortified without our Permiſſion.

Before the Arrival of the *Galleons* in this Port, proper Expreſſes are diſpatched to *Panama*, requiring the King's Treaſure, and the

the Merchandize from *Chili* and *Peru* to be conveyed thence to *Porto Bello*. This may be performed two Ways, by Land, which is a Journey of about fifty Miles, and a pretty good Road in Summer; or by Water, which is the only Method in Winter; and then the Plate and Goods are conveyed to *Venta de Cruz*, which is twenty-one Miles, by Mules, and thence down the *Rio Chiagro* to the Sea, whence they are tranſported to *Porto Bello*, which is about eighteen Leagues diſtant. Theſe different Methods of Carriage are of vaſt Utility, for in the Summer-time the *Rio Chiagro* is frequently ſo low, that Boats cannot paſs; and on the other hand, in the Winter, when the Navigation by that River is free, the Road by Land is altogether impaſſable.

All the Country in this Neighbourhood, and indeed the greateſt Part of the Iſthmus is of ſmall Value and little regarded, the Climate being bad, the Soil a continued Bog, the Rivers muddy, and their Waters unwholeſome. This Deſcription may ſerve as far as the Gulph of *Darien*, in the Neighbourhood of which there were formerly ſome conſiderable Towns, but now they are ruined and decayed; ſo that there is nothing remarkable, or worth deſcribing, till we come to the Government of *Carthagena*, to which therefore we ſhall proceed.

This

This Government of *Carthagena* is very conſiderable, by Reaſon of the great Trade of that City, for otherwiſe the adjacent Country cannot be ſtyled rich, and is far from being populous. It was conquered about the Year 1532 by *Don Peter de Heredia*, whoſe Succeſſors, that they might run no Hazard of its being conquered again, made it their Buſineſs to ruin and root out the Inhabitants. Before they did this there were found conſiderable Quantities of Gold, hidden in Caves, and Pits by the *Indians*; but now thoſe People are abſolutely deſtroyed, there is very little or no Gold to be got.

The City of *Carthagena*, which is the Capital of this Province, ſtands in the Latitude of 10° 30′ and in the Longitude of 75° 21′ Weſt from *London*. It is a very fine City, as well as a very rich and a very ſtrong one, conſiſting of five large Streets, each near half a Mile in Length, one larger and longer than the reſt, in the Center of which there is a noble Square. The Houſes are moſtly of Stone, very neatly built, and take it altogether, there is no City of its Bigneſs that can make a finer Appearance; ſcarce any can boaſt of ſo happy a Situation. *Carthagena* is divided into the *Upper* and the *Lower*; the *Upper* ſtands on the Iſthmus, the *Lower* on a little Iſland, for ſuch it ſeems to be, when the Sea flows. The *Spaniards* call this *Gaſimani*, that is to ſay, *the Suburbs*. Its Harbour

bour is excellent, but very hard to be deſcribed. It is formed by an Iſland called *Varu*, and a Peninſula, which is called *Nave*, about four Miles in Length. The Coaſt of both runs South by Weſt, and North by Eaſt; to the South of the Peninſula lies the Iſland, which on the North Eaſt is ſeparated from the Land by a very narrow Paſſage. There runs out from the North-weſt Corner a Neck of Land which reaches within three Furlongs of the Peninſula of *Nave*. This ſmall Diſtance makes the Entrance of the Harbour thence ſtyled *Boca chica*, i. e. *Littlemouth*. The Harbour lies behind the Iſthmus, between it and the Continent, and is one of the fineſt and moſt commodious Ports in the Univerſe, capable of containing not only one, but many large Fleets, which might ride ſafely in many Parts of it; and therefore the Galleons winter here, whenever they are obliged to ſtay in *America*. The Shore on which the City ſtands, is ſo ſhallow and rocky, that though the Sea lies immediately before it, yet it is impoſſible to approach it, at leaſt ſo as to land any Troops; but Admiral *Vernon* has lately thrown a great many Bombs into it, which have deſtroyed abundance of fine Edifices, and done incredible Miſchief.

The Harbour is naturally ſtrong, and in point of Fortifications, is better provided than any Place in the *Weſt Indies*, the *Havana* only excepted. The Mouth of it is commanded

manded by the Fort of *St. Lewis.* Within, on an Iſland, ſtands that of *St. Joſeph*, and two others, *viz.* the Forts of *St. Philip* and *James* ſtand on the Shore three quarters of a Mile before you come to the Port. On the Point of Land before-mentioned, within three Miles of the City, ſtands the Caſtle or Fort of *Santa Cruz*; as alſo the *Caſtillo Grande*, which is in a manner inacceſſible, either by Land or Water. Oppoſite to this Fort ſtands that of *Mancanillo*; and beſides theſe there is a Redoubt which commands the narrow Paſſage between the upper and the lower City. Both Parts of the City itſelf are walled round, and regularly fortified: About a quarter of a Mile from thence, on the Continent, ſtands the ſtrong Fort of *St. Philip de Baraxas*, which commands both Cities; and a Mile from thence the very rich and famous Monaſtery of *Our Lady of the Candleſtick*, which is likewiſe well fortified. It is not to be ſuppoſed that theſe Works were raiſed all at once; the contrary is certain, the *Spaniards* built them according to the Rules which their Neceſſities preſcribed them.

In 1585 this Place was taken by Sir *Francis Drake* with a Body of two thouſand three hundred Land Forces: they kept Poſſeſſion of it ſix Weeks; and having burnt a Part of the City, receiv'd thirty thouſand Pound Sterling in Specie for the Ranſom of the Remainder of it. A very ſhort Time after five

*French*

*French* Privateers took it again, and carried off a Booty worth a hundred and fifty thouſand Ducats, but burnt the Place, which was newly repaired, to the Ground. In 1697 the Sieur *de Pontis* undertook to plunder it with a Squadron of *French* Men of War, on board of which there were four thouſand one hundred ſeventy five Men. At *St. Domingo* he was joined by a Squadron of Buccaneers, conſiſting of ſix Ships, and about fifteen hundred Men, without whoſe Aſſiſtance, in all Probability, he had miſcarried. The Place made a vigorous Reſiſtance, but was at length taken, though not without conſiderable Loſs to the *French*. We have various Accounts of the Plunder which they carried off; but the moſt authentic Relations I have met with compute it at two Millions Sterling at the leaſt. Beſides, the Buccaneers being diſſatisfied with their Share, returned again, and retook Poſſeſſion of the City, notwithſtanding the former Compoſition, ſtripping the Inhabitants of five hundred thouſand Pounds more.

Since this Time the City of *Carthagena* has been thoroughly repaired, or rather rebuilt, and better fortified than ever. There are in it five Churches, beſides the Cathedral, which is in itſelf a noble Structure, its Inſide being as richly furniſhed as its Outſide is magnificent. There are alſo eleven Convents, a fine Palace for the Governor, a ſumptuous

Town-houſe and Cuſtom-houſe; and a prodigious Trade is driven on by the Merchants ſettled here, eſpecially in Pearls, Emeralds, Indigo, Cochineal, and other rich Goods. As to the Number of Perſons who inhabit this City, it is not eaſy to have an exact Account of them. A *French* Officer, who was there in 1730, judged there might be about twenty four thouſand Perſons, that is to ſay, about four thouſand *Spaniards*, and the reſt Creoles, Negroes, *&c.*

There are ſeveral other Places in this Government of conſiderable Note, ſuch as *St. Sebaſtian*, *de Buenaviſta*, *Mopoxa*, *Cenu*, *Tolu*, and *Santa Maria*.

The Government of *St. Martha*, proceeding ſtill towards the South, is the next Country we meet with; it is bounded on one Side by the *Rio Grande*, or *River of St. Magdalen*; and on the other by the *Rio de la Hacha*. The Country is for the moſt part mountainous, whence reſults ſome very conſiderable Advantages to the Inhabitants; for, in the firſt Place, the Weather is cooler, and much more wholeſome than in the neighbouring Provinces, and the Land is notwithſtanding extremely fruitful, eſpecially in *Indian* Corn. Another Advantage is the Mines, which in theſe Parts are of great Value, for they not only find in them conſiderable Quantities of Gold, but alſo precious Stones of various kinds, ſuch as Emeralds, Sapphires, Jaſpars,

Jaſpars, Marble finely vein'd; and on the Sea Coaſt there is a very rich Pearl Fiſhery: The Country alſo affords other rich Commodities, ſuch as Indigo, Cochineal, Brazil, and Logwood.

The Capital of this Province is a City of the ſame Name, excellently ſituated on a Branch of the *Rio Grande*, near the Mountain of *St. Martha*, which is ſuppoſed by ſome to be little, if any thing inferior, in Height to the Pike of *Teneriffe*. This City is the Seat of the Governor, a Biſhop's See, well built, and formerly well inhabited, tho' now upon the Decline; tho' it has as many Conveniences to recommend it as any Place in *America*. It ſtands in a healthy pleaſant Country, in the Neighbourhood of a fine fruitful Plain; it has a large, ſafe, and commodious Port; and there is a great deal of Trade carried on here in the richeſt Conveniences, and beſides all this, a great Manufacture of Cotton Cloth. There are two Cauſes of its Decay; the one, that the *Spaniſh* Fleets ſeldom touch there now as formerly they were wont to do; the other, that this Place has been taken ſo often, that People are afraid to ſettle there. In 1525 it was entirely ruined by Sir *Francis Drake*; the next Year Sir *Anthony Shirley* plundered it. In 1630 it fell into the Hands of the *Dutch*, and ſince then has been over and over taken by our Buccaneers, inſomuch that in

1681 they ſcarce thought it worth the pillaging. This City lies in the Latitude of 11°, and is ſuppoſed to contain about three thouſand Inhabitants.

There are ſome other very conſiderable Places in this Government, ſuch as *Baranca*, in the Neighbourhood of which are Salt Pits, which yield a vaſt Profit; *Ocanna*, *Ramada*, and ſome other Towns, which we want Room to mention.

To the Southward of the Government of *St. Martha*, lies the little Province of *Rio de la Hacha*. The Country is both pleaſant and fruitful, abounding with *Indian* Corn, Herbs, and Fruits. There are alſo Salt Pits, ſome Mines of Jaſpar, and Chalcedonies; and on the Coaſt there is a very rich Pearl Fiſhery, wherein, as the *Indians* are chiefly employed, ſo they take Care to reap ſome Part of the Profit, notwithſtanding all the Care the *Spaniſh* Inſpectors can take to prevent it. The principal Town is called alſo *Rio de la Hacha*, from the River at the Mouth of which it ſtands, and was formerly both a rich and a ſtrong Town; but having notwithſtanding this been more than once taken by the Buccaneers, the *Spaniards* were at laſt ſo diſheartened, that in 1682 they abandoned it, but within a ſhort Time after, they ſettled it again, and have ſince fortified it in ſuch a Manner, as not to be any longer apprehenſive of ſuch Viſits. In the open Country the

the *Indians* are free, not enduring the Yoke of the *Spaniards*, though they willingly receive their Prieſts, and for ought that appears to the contrary, are very good Chriſtians. They ſubſiſt chiefly by grazing their Cattle, every Man marking his own, and thereby ſecuring his Property; but as to the Ground on which they feed, that is in Common, and no Man hath a Property in it at all, except ſo much as his Houſe ſtands upon, which is ſurrounded with a little Fence.

The Province of *Venezuela* lies next on the South, being divided from that of which we ſpoke laſt, by the River or Lake of *Maracaibo*. There is a great deal of Confuſion in moſt of the Geographical Deſcriptions of this Country, occaſioned by blending and miſtaking of Names. In ſome Books this Province is called *Corana*, from the City of *Coro*, which ſtands upon the Lake; and ſome again confound it with *Cumana*; but the beſt *Spaniſh* Writers ſtyle it, as we do, *the Province of Venezuela*. It extends along the Coaſt of the *North Sea*, near four hundred Miles, and extends alſo above three hundred into the Heart of the Continent. It is affirmed, that in the firſt Conqueſt of this Country, the *Spaniards* dealt very cruelly with the Inhabitants; but, however that might be, certain it is that the Natives now live happily enough, and that they are very numerous in this Province, which enjoys a pretty good

Air, as alſo a very rich Soil. Some Writers ſay that the Number of *Indians* does not fall ſhort of a hundred thouſand. The old Capital of this Country was *Coro*, a City ſtanding on the Shore of the *North Sea*, in the Latitude of 11°. Thence the Land ſhoots out into a Peninſula about twenty-five Leagues in Compaſs, which is called *Paraguana*. Below the City of *Coro* lies the famous Lake of *Maracaibo*, eighty Leagues in Compaſs, the Mouth of it half a League over; and it extends into the Heart of the Country twenty-five Leagues. As there are a vaſt Number of Rivers and Rivulets which run into it, the Water is potable, but withal is very brackiſh. The preſent Capital of the Province is the City of *Venezuela*, which is ſaid to derive its Name from its Likeneſs to the City of *Venice* in *Italy*. It is a Biſhop's See, ſubject, as we have before remarked, to the Archbiſhop of *St. Domingo*. In the Heart of this Province lie thoſe famous Plains ſtyled *Cororo*, where the Soil is wonderfully rich, and where they feed vaſt Numbers of *European* Sheep. The only Diſadvantage under which this fine Country labours, is the Want of freſh Water, there being very few Rivulets, though there are ſome conſiderable Lakes therein. The Town of *Maracaibo on the Lake* is a modern built Place, in reſpect of the other Towns of this Province, and yet it is in a better Condition than any of them, being a

Place

Place of great Trade, and where ſeveral Ships are annually built by the Inhabitants, which is a rare Thing in this Part of the World, and therefore worthy of Notice. They likewiſe cultivate Tobacco and Sugar in this Neighbourhood, which are famous throughout all *America*. Oppoſite to the Coaſt of *Venezuela* lie a great many Iſlands, moſt of them belonging to the *Spaniards*; as alſo *Curaço*, and two other leſs conſiderable Iſles belonging to the *Dutch*, which gives them an Opportunity of carrying on a great deal of clandeſtine Trade with the *Spaniards*.

Beyond this Province lies that of *New Andaluſia*, the Capital of which is *Comana*, or *Corduba*, which is no very conſiderable Place; but the Port is called *Carvalleda*, near the Gulph of *Caraccas*. It is not eaſy to aſſign the Bounds of this Province, ſince to ſpeak the Truth it is boundleſs; for though the *Spaniards* pretend to vaſt Countries ſtretching along this Coaſt to the South, yet in reality they have ſettled little farther than theſe Places of which we have been ſpeaking, which however ought not to be eſteemed ſo great a Wonder as that other Nations ſhould leave ſo fine a Country as this to a Nation ſo incapable of making uſe of it.

All along this Coaſt, from *Carthagena*, there are Pearl Fiſheries, of which it may not be amiſs to give the Reader ſome Account. In the firſt Place then, let us obſerve

that Pearls have been always eſteemed, and for ought we can perceive, in all Places, for the *Indians* ſet a great Value upon them, before any *Europeans* came amongſt them. The Beauty and Excellence of Pearls conſiſts partly in their Shape, and partly in their Water. As to Shape, thoſe that are perfectly round are moſt eſteemed; and next to theſe, Pear Pearls. In *Europe* we eſteem moſt the white or clear Water; but the *Indians* and *Arabians* prefer the yellow, provided the Pearls be perfectly ripe. The great Diſtinction between oriental and occidental Pearl conſiſts in this, that the latter have a Caſt of Lead in their Colour, however ripe or perfect, which abates their Value; and yet *Tavernier* ſpeaks of ſix Pearls which came from the *Weſt Indies* perfectly round and black, which one with another weighed twelve Carrats, and were eſteemed at a high Rate. The Fiſheries on this Coaſt are ſtrictly ſpeaking five; the firſt is at *Cubagna*, a ſmall Iſland lying off the Coaſt of *New Andaluſia*, about five Leagues, in the Latitude of 10° 30′. The Pearls here ſeldom exceed five Carrats, but to balance this, they are found in great Quantities. Next is the Fiſhery at the Iſland of *Margarita*, or *Iſle of Pearls*, where there are the largeſt, fineſt, and moſt regular that are to be found in the *Weſt Indies*. The Fiſhery of *Comanagotta* is at the bottom of the Gulph of *Caracca*, on the Coaſt of *Venezuela*.

*guela.* The Fourth Fiſhery is that which the *Spaniards* ſtyle *la Rencheria*, at the Mouth of the River *de la Hacha.* The fifth is the Fiſhery of *St. Martha*, at ſixty Leagues Diſtance from the former. The Time of Fiſhing is from the Month of *October* to the Month of *March*, at which Time there ſails from *Carthagena* ten or twelve Barks eſcorted by ſome Men of War, ſtyled *the Armadilla*; and theſe having made their Tour, return again to the ſame Port, which is the Center of the Pearl Trade. Theſe Barks have an Admiral, which is ſtyled *la Capitana*, on board whereof all the Oyſters that are taken in the Day are depoſited at Night. Some of the Slaves, who are made uſe of in diving, will continue under Water near a quarter of an Hour, and then bring up with them a little Baſket of Oyſters. The Pearl-oyſter, or Mother of Pearl, as it is uſually called, is three or four times as big as another Oyſter, and contains uſually ten or twelve Pearls of different Sizes. The ripeſt and largeſt appear firſt, the ſmaller and rawer lie deeper in the Shell. When the Oyſters are brought on Shore, they bury them in the Sand till by the Heat of the Sun they corrupt and open of themſelves; and the Pearls are diſcovered in ſome more, ſome fewer, and in ſome none at all; then they are taken out, cleaned, dried, and afterwards paſſed through a kind of Sieve in order to diſtinguiſh their Sizes. Such as are very

ſmall,

ſmall, are ſold for Seed-Pearl, and the reſt according to their Sizes.

If I join to theſe Obſervations on the Pearl Fiſhery ſome Remarks on the Value of Pearl, the Reader muſt make proper Allowances for the Vogue, which is ſometimes greater, and ſometimes leſs: All I pretend to give is the middle Rate. Seed Pearls, for the Uſe of the Apothecaries, are worth about a Crown an Ounce; ſmall Pearls, bored, are worth from one to three Crowns an Ounce. A round ripe Pearl of a Carrat Weight may be worth about ten Shillings; of two Carrats, about three Pound; of four Carrats, about fifteen Pound; and a very perfect Pearl of ten Carrats, or the largeſt Size, is eſteemed at about two hundred Pounds. When Pearls are very perfect, and much above this Size, they have no regular Price, but are eſtimated merely by Fancy. Thus the fine Pearl which the King of *Spain* has called *la Peregrina*, which weighs fifteen Carrats, or ſomewhat leſs, is ſaid to be worth twenty thouſand Pounds. Pear Pearls are about a third leſs in Value than round.

The Kingdom of *New Granada* is an Inland Province, and lies behind thoſe which we have already deſcribed. On the North it is bounded by the Governments of *St. Martha*, *Rio de la Hacha*, and *Venezuela*; on the Eaſt by the ſame Diſtrict of *Venezuela*, and part which continue hitherto unconquered; on the

the South by *Peru*, and on the Weſt by *Popayan*. It is in Length 130 Leagues, and in Breadth twenty-five or thirty. It lies from the firſt to the 9° of N. L. It is, generally ſpeaking, a Champagne Country, though on its Frontiers 'tis every where ſurrounded by Mountains. There are abundance of Foreſts, which contain excellent Timber; and large Meadows, which feed prodigious Quantities of Black Cattle and Horſes. Though it is ſo near the Line, yet the Climate is very temperate, inſomuch that many Writers tell us, that as it always enjoys an Equality of Day and Night, ſo on the other hand it is not diſturbed by a Variety of Seaſons. But upon a ſtrict Examination, this does not appear to be the Caſe. The People in this Country have, properly ſpeaking, two Summers and two Winters, without either Autumn or Spring. The firſt Summer begins in *December*, and ends with *February*; then follows a Winter, comprehending the Months of *March*, *April* and *May*; the ſecond Summer takes in the Months of *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*; and the ſecond Winter the Months of *September*, *October*, and *November*. It is true that all this Time there is little Difference between the Heat and Cold, which is the Reaſon that ſome Writers ſay there is here a continual Spring. But I think the other the better Diviſion, becauſe in the Summer Months it is always fair Weather, whereas

as in thoſe which I call Winter Months, it conſtantly rains all the Night.

This Country alone might ſatisfy the Deſires of any People, ſince it is both pleaſant and rich, abounding with all things neceſſary to Life, and having beſides very rich Mines of Gold and Emeralds, but eſpecially of the latter, which are of prodigious Value, or at leaſt might be ſo, if proper Care was taken in the Management of this Trade. We commonly diſtinguiſh between oriental, and occidental Emeralds, that is, between the Emeralds brought from the *Eaſt Indies*, and thoſe brought from *Peru*. But *Tavernier*, who was a very good Judge, thought this Diſtinction altogether without Foundation; and I own I am of his Opinion. I believe there are no Emeralds but what do come from *Peru*, except it be ſuch as are found in the Mines of *New Mexico*. It is true, this ſuppoſes a Commerce between the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, before we diſcovered *America*; and this ſome think an Abſurdity; but then they ought to tell us where the *Eaſt Indian* Emeralds are found; for their coming from thence does not prove they grow there. Heretofore there were Emeralds of extraordinary Hardneſs and Beauty, which were ſaid to be of the old Rock; and this has puzzled many People; but the Truth of the Matter is, theſe were not oriental, but *Egyptian* Emeralds; and of theſe we have had few or none, ſince that

that Country fell into the Hands of the *Turks*. The Mines we are now ſpeaking of produce vaſt Quantities of different Degrees in point of Luſtre and Value. Such as are perfect, and weigh from one to ten Carrats, are worth from ten Shillings to thirty Pounds or more. The *Spaniards* generally ſend theſe to *Maracaibo*, and thence to *Carthagena*; whence, with the other Commodities of this Country, they are tranſported to *Europe*.

The Capital of the Kingdom of *New Granada*, and indeed of the whole *Terra Firma*, is the City of *Santa Fé*, ſtyled by way of Diſtinction, *Santa Fé de Bogata:* It is the Seat of the Royal Audience, and of an Archbiſhoprick, its Suffragans being the Biſhops of *Carthagena*, *Santa Martha*, and *Popayan*. The City is large, and well built, ſtanding on the Banks of the Lake *Gutavita*, adorned with fine Buildings, and very populous. Beſides this, there are a great many other large well built Towns in this Diſtrict, but becauſe it is in an Inland Government, and Strangers can have no Intercourſe with their Inhabitants, we ſhall omit their Names.

The Province of *Popayan*, which is the laſt in this Audience, is of very large Extent. It is bounded on the North by the Province of *New Carthagena*, which is dependent on the Kingdom of *New Granada*; as alſo a little Part of the Audience of *Panama*. On the Eaſt lies the Kingdom of *New Granada*;

on

on the South the Provinces of *Quito*, and *los Quixos*; on the Weſt it hath the *South Sea*. This Country is mountainous; and though all of it lies very near, and ſome of it immediately under the Line, yet the Air is very cool, and the Climate much better than one could expect. The Soil, wherever it is cultivated, appears to be rich and fruitful; but the Country is far from being thoroughly ſettled. All the Herbs, Flowers, and Trees, which grow in any Part of *South America*, are to be found here, eſpecially Cotton Trees, Cedars, Red Wood, and Trees which yield that ineſtimable Balſam which generally goes under the Name of *Balſam of Tolu*. Here are alſo very rich Mines of Gold, and precious Stones are found frequently, ſuch as Jaſpar, Chalcedony, and various kinds of Agates. The *Spaniards* call the Natives of this Country, *Indios Bravos*, or *Indios de Guerra*, that is, *Brave or warlike Indians*; and in truth they may well call them ſo, for in all this Time they have never been able to ſubdue them; but they remain free in the Mountains, though ſurrounded by the *Spaniſh* Dominions on every Side.

The Capital of the Province, or at leaſt that which is generally ſo ſtyled, is the City of *Popayan*, ſeated at the Bottom of the Mountains on the Banks of a River which in its Courſe falls into the *Rio Grande*: it is in the Heart of the Province, in the Latitude of

of 2° 30′. It is a Biſhop's See, and the Prelate who reſides there not only directs the Inhabitants in Spirituals, but governs them in Temporals alſo; for the *Spaniſh* Governor reſides at *Cali*, which is a larger Town farther to the North, in the Latitude of 3° 40′. The Biſhop and his Clergy have done more for the Crown of *Spain* than could have been done by a large Garriſon; for they have converted many of the *Indians*; and by bringing them into the City, and matching them with *Creole* Families, they have introduced a Commerce with the free Inhabitants of the Mountains, which is of infinite Service, and may be a Means of reducing the whole Country. It is remarked that the Inhabitants of this Province are much more active and induſtrious, as well as much braver, than any of the reſt of the Natives of *New Spain*, which is attributed to their continual Wars with the free *Indians*, and their being obliged to make long and hazardous Journeys for the managing their own Affairs.

There are in *Popayan* abundance of large Towns, well built, and tolerably fortified; but the open Country is much expoſed to the Courſes of the *Indians*, who, whenever they have an Advantage, uſe it cruelly enough againſt the *Spaniards*, towards whom their Hate is implacable. As the Northern Frontier of this Country joins the Iſthmus which is alſo inhabited by free *Indians*, the *Spaniards*

*ards* are extremely apprehenſive of the *Engliſh* making ſome Attempt this Way, and thereby ſecuring to themſelves a Settlement on both Seas; but as this could not be undertaken but with a large Body of Land Forces, much Hazard, and a vaſt Expence, there is Reaſon to doubt they will never be diſturbed by any thing but their own Fears.

## CHAP. XI.

### *Of the Audience of* Panama.

THIS is a Territory of no great Extent, lying altogether on the Coaſt of the *South Sea*, from the Gulph of *Panama* down to *Capo de Corintes*, that is, from about 9° to 5° of N. L. The Climate is far from being wholeſome, and yet it is much better than in the Neighbourhood of *Porto Bello*, on the other Side of the Iſthmus; but as to the Soil, it is very good, and the *Spaniards* either have, or might have, all Things in the utmoſt Abundance.

The old City of *Panama* was built very early, as we have obſerved in the former Book, and became by degrees a very conſiderable Place; for, beſides a handſome Cathedral, there were eight Convents, a large Hoſpital, and ſeveral fine Buildings; but as for Walls they had none; all the Fortifications for the Defence of ſo important a Place were

two

two ſorry Redouts, one on the Shore, and the other fronting the Road to *Venta Cruz*, mounted with ſix Pieces of Cannon each. In 1673 the famous Sir *Henry Morgan* took this Place, and burnt it to the Ground; it conſiſted at that Time, if the *Spaniſh* Writers may be believed, of between ſix and ſeven thouſand Houſes, moſt of them built of Roſe-Wood, and many of them more magnificent than any other in the *Indies*.

The new City of *Panama* ſtands four Miles Weſt from the Ruins of *Old Panama*, and is a very fair City, ſeated cloſe by the Sea Side. It gives Name to a large Bay which is famous for a great many navigable Rivers running into it, ſome whereof are very rich in Gold. This Bay is likewiſe ſprinkled with ſeveral ſmall Iſlands, equally pleaſant to the Eye of a Spectator, and profitable to the Proprietors. On the Land-Side *Panama* is encompaſſed by a pleaſant Country full of ſmall Hills, verdant Vallies, and fine Groves of Trees, which appear like Iſlands in the *Savannahs*. This City is ſurrounded by a ſtrong and high Wall, well mounted on all Sides with Braſs Cannon. It has a Cathedral, eight Pariſh-Churches, and thirty Chapels. The Preſident's Palace is a very grand Building, and all the publick Edifices may be juſtly ſtyled ſo, conſidering where they ſtand. In point of Government, the King's Officers here are a Governor, Captain-General, and Preſident,

four Counſellors, a Provoſt, and Procurator-General; an Auditor of Accounts, a Treaſurer, and a Commiſſary-General.

There are neither Woods nor Marſhes near *Panama*, but a fine dry champion Country, little ſubject either to Fogs or Miſts. The rainy Seaſon laſts here from *May* to *November*; but the Rains are by no means ſo heavy as on the other Side the Iſthmus; and yet even here they are very unwholeſome to all but the Natives, or ſuch as have dwelt very long in the Place. As this is the great Center of Commerce from *Peru* and *Chili*, ſo the Merchants who live at *Panama* are generally ſpeaking rich; and the Port is never without a conſiderable Number of Ships in it; nay there is generally an *Armadilla*, that is, a Squadron of ſmall Men of War, either lying before it, or cruiſing in its Neighbourhood.

There are not many Places in this Audience which deſerve very particular Notice to be taken of them, and therefore I ſhall take this Opportunity of ſpeaking of the Methods made uſe of by the *Spaniards* for obtaining Gold, out of the Rivers, of which there is greater Plenty in this Audience, and in the Mines of *Santa Maria*, not far off, than within the ſame Space in any other Part of *New Spain*, or perhaps in the whole World.

From the Mountains, in the Midſt of the Iſthmus, there roll down ſeveral Rivers, with a ſtrong and rapid Current, during the rainy Seaſon

Seaſon eſpecially, and then tear away part of the Soil, and therewith Abundance of Gold, which afterwards is, with conſiderable Pains, ſeparated therefrom. The *Indians* are generally employed in this Work, as alſo the Slaves of the *Spaniards*, that is, the Negroes: the latter make about five Shillings a Day; but the former, who ſell what they get at a Price agreed on, get conſiderably more. They take the Mud up in little wooden Diſhes, and after ſuffering it to ſettle, they waſh from it as much of the black Earth as they can, then it is put up into certain Baſons, called by the *Spaniards*, *Lavaderos*, which are placed under a Pipe or Spring of running Water, and is ſtirred with an Iron Spatula, that as the Water paſſes through it may be the better able to carry off the Sand or Earth. After it has gone through this Operation, it ſtill retains its black Colour; but the Increaſe of its Weight, in Proportion to the Quantity that is left, ſufficiently indicates that all this Pains is not taken without anſwering ſome End. This black Earth is next thrown into broad wooden Diſhes, either of a round or oval Form, and hollow in the Middle, like a Butcher's Tray, but not ſo deep; there, by repeated Waſhings and Rubbings, the black Earth is entirely cleanſed away, and a ſhining Gold Sand is found at the Bottom. Though there ſeems to be a great Trouble in this Method, yet is it much the eaſieſt and the

cheapeſt Way of coming at Gold, for there is neither a fourth Part of the Labour, nor of the Expence in thus ſeparating the Grains of Gold from the Soil, that there muſt be uſed in extracting it from the Ore. In the dry Seaſon they work at the Mines of *Santa Maria*, which lie not far from *Panama*, and are, as I have ſaid, exceedingly rich. It was taken about 1684 by our Buccaneers, and more than once ſince; nay, *Dampier* tells us they had ſome Thoughts of ſettling there, and thinks they might have done it in ſpite of all the Force the *Spaniards* had in *Peru*. They were tempted to theſe Thoughts by ſeeing the Mines abandoned to the *Spaniards*, as they were for a long Time, and by the Quantities of Gold, which from their own Experience they knew them to yield. For the obtaining of Gold from the Mine, they firſt of all break to pieces the Mineray, or Marcaſite which holds it, and then conveying it to the Mills, it is ground into a Powder as fine as can be imagin'd. This Powder being put into wooden Veſſels, together with a proportionable Quantity of Quickſilver, is there wrought into a Paſte, which after being expoſed to the Sun for forty-eight Hours, is waſhed in a particular Manner, till there is nothing left but the Quickſilver and Gold, and then the latter is ſeparated from the former by Diſtillation. Such as are verſed in this kind of Buſineſs diſtinguiſh three kinds of

of Gold; the firſt is called *Pepitas*, which is an *Indian* Word, though uſed by the *Spaniards*, and ſignifies the Seeds of an Apple. They uſe this to diſtinguiſh the pure Gold, which is either found in the Rocks, or waſhed down by the Rivers, already formed into little Lumps, which need no refining; theſe are of ſeveral Sizes, from the Bigneſs of a large Pin's Head to that of a Gooſe's Egg. The Second is the Grain Gold, obtained by waſhing only. The Third is Ingots caſt out of Gold, refined by the Help of Fire. The Inhabitants of *Panama* are ſaid to have gained formerly, by the Methods before-mentioned, ſome thouſand Pounds Weight of Gold a Year; but of late, though the Mine has not been diſcovered above ſixty Years, the Quantity is conſiderably decreaſed. Throughout all *America*, the King of *Spain* receives for his Duty a Fifth of the Silver, and a Twentieth of the Gold: This Duty is called the *Covo*, and when it is once paid, the Remainder belongs to the Subject; for he who finds a Mine, and will be at the Charge of working it, is the abſolute Proprietor, and has all the Encouragement given him that he could wiſh.

But this is a ſmall Article in the Profits of the Inhabitants of this rich City, who drive on a prodigious Commerce both in *North* and *South America*. As ſoon as ever the Galleons enter the Port of *Carthagena*, an

Expreſs is diſpatched over Land to *Panama*, from whence he proceeds by Sea to *Lima*. In the mean time all the neceſſary Preparations are made for conveying the Treaſure as ſoon as it arrives, either by Sea or Land to *Porto Bello*. The Viceroy of *Peru*, on the other hand, makes all imaginable Diſpatch in ſending the *Lima* Fleet, eſcorted by an *Armadilla*, or ſmall Squadron of Men of War, to *Panama*, where, as ſoon as they arrive, they are unladen, and the Goods forwarded for *Porto Bello*. The *Lima* Fleet then ſails to *Perico*, a little Port at a ſmall Diſtance from *Panama*, and there wait the Return of the *European* Goods from *Porto Bello* by the ſame Carriage theirs was ſent thither; and having taken this on Board, they immediately ſail away for *Lima*.

Another Branch of Traffick, entirely managed by the Merchants of *Panama*, is that reſulting from the *Engliſh Aſſiento* Company, whoſe Factors reſide here conſtantly in Time of Peace, receiving from *Jamaica*, by the Way of *Porto Bello*, thoſe Negro Slaves which they afterwards ſend into *Peru*, and *New Spain*. It is chiefly on Account of this extenſive Trade at *Panama*, that it was made the Seat of a Royal Audience; and indeed without this it would have been very hard to have regulated thoſe Diſputes which naturally ariſe among a mixt Body of Traders, all warmly

warmly concerned for their own Intereſt, and not over tender of other People's Concerns.

Although the Neighbourhood of *Panama* be pretty well cultivated, yet the reſt of the Audience is but very thinly inhabited, neither are there any tolerable Ports after you have paſſed the Bay of *St. Michael*, till you come to *Cape Corrintes*; though there are many Rivers which fall into the Sea along the Coaſt. What is ſtranger ſtill, this Country is abſolutely in the Hands of the Natives, with whom the *Spaniards* ſometimes trade for Gold, almoſt all of them bringing down more or leſs; but they have no Command over them, and are ſo much afraid to truſt them, that they never attempt to ſend ſo much as an Expreſs by Land from *Panama* to the Audience of *Quito*.

From *Cape Corrintes*, which, as I have obſerved, is in 5° N. L. to *Rio de Jaga*, which is in the Latitude of 2°, extends the Coaſt of *Popayan*, on which there are ſeveral ſmall Harbours; but the moſt conſiderable is the Bay of *Bonaventura*, by which is carried on all the Trade to *Cali*, which, as I have before obſerved, is very conſiderable. On this Coaſt lies the little Iſland of *Gorgona*, in the Latitude of 3°. It is about two Leagues long, and a League broad, four Leagues from the Coaſt, hath a good Road, is well wooded and watered, though but an indifferent Climate, it being commonly reported that it rains here

more or leſs every Day of the Year, which however is not ſtrictly true. It is uninhabited, though very remarkable for being the only Place (except on the Coaſt of *California*) in the *South Seas*, where Pearl-oyſters are found. It is true, there are ſome little Iſlands in the Bay of *Panama*, which are called the *Pearl Iſlands*; and perhaps a Fiſhery might be there formerly; but there is none now. Our Privateers, who have frequented the Iſland of *Gorgona*, report the Pearl-oyſters to be neither pleaſant nor wholeſome, as having a copperiſh Taſte, very apt to diſguſt the Stomach, and make Men ſick. The Pearl here are generally ſmall, and of little Value, though now and then there have been very large and valuable Pearls found here by the Fiſhing Barks ſent from *Panama*, with which we have now done, as well as with its Dependencies, and are to paſs on to the next Province beyond it and *Popayan*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XII.

### *Of the Audience of* Quito.

AUthors differ pretty much in the Boundaries they aſſign to this Province, and not a few comprehend it under the general Title of *Peru*; but, according to the beſt Accounts I have met with, its Boundaries may be thus aſſigned. To the North it hath the Government of *Popayan*; to the Eaſt an undiſcovered Country, inhabited by barbarous Nations; to the South the Audience of *Lima*; and on the Weſt the *South Sea*. It extends from two Degrees North Latitude to about ſix Degrees South, and is properly divided into three Diſtricts, that is, thoſe of *Quito proper*, *Los Quixos*, and *Pacamores*. The Climate is immoderately hot, and far from being wholeſome, ſubject to great Rains, and thick Fogs, eſpecially in the Vallies, and towards the Sea Shore, which makes theſe Parts miſerably unhealthy. The Soil again is ſandy and barren, though here and there are ſome Spots of tolerable Ground, which are pretty well cultivated. Notwithſtanding all theſe Inconveniencies, the Province of *Quito* is tolerably inhabited, for Reaſons that will preſently appear. In this Country there are abundance of that kind of Sheep which the Natives call *Llamas*; the *Spaniards*, *Carneros*

*ros de la Tierra.* They have a ſmall Head, a long ſtraight Neck, the upper Lip divided before; they are very large and ſtrong, capable of carrying from fourſcore to a hundred Weight, with which they will travel four or five Leagues in a Day; but they will not ſtir a Step in the Night. They have a Spur behind their Heel, which enables them to travel through Rocks, and down Precipices, where no other Creature could do, with the utmoſt Security, and even without ſtumbling. Of theſe camel Sheep, as ſome Writers call them, there are four Sorts. The *Llamas*, the *Vigognes*, whoſe Wooll is finer than that of the *Llamas*; the *Guanacos*, and the *Alpacas*, theſe laſt yield a very fine black Wooll: and indeed all their Fleeces are very valuable.

The Capital of this Province is the great City of *Quito*, ſeated in 45 Minutes of South Latitude, at the Foot of exceeding high Mountains, and at the Diſtance of 60 Leagues from the Sea. It is very large and populous; the Country about it naturally the beſt in the Province, and well cultivated. It is the Seat of the Preſident and King's Courts for this Audience, as alſo a Biſhop's See. The Revenue of the Biſhop conſiſts in eighteen thouſand Pieces of Eight, which he receives annually from the Royal Treaſury, and in about four times as much, which he draws from the People by various Methods. There

are

are in *Quito* about three thouſand *Spaniards*, and upwards of thirty thouſand *Indians*. They have a grand Manufacture here of coarſe Cloth and Serges, which make the Clothing of the common People all over *Peru*. Beſides this, the Inhabitants draw immenſe Riches from the golden Mountains in their Neighbourhood, wherein, however, there are no Mines, but Lavaderoes only; yet as theſe are frequent indeed in every Brook, and are alſo very rich, the Quantities of Metal taken out of them are prodigious. To balance all theſe Advantages, this Audience, as I ſaid, is extremely unwholeſome, inſomuch, that when the Inhabitants grow very rich, they uſually quit the Province, and go and ſettle at *Maracaibo*, or *Venezuela*.

There are abundance of great Towns in this Country, ſuch as *St. Michael de Ybarra*, *Sevill del Oro*, or *Golden Sevil*; *Loxa*, *Zamora*, &c. neither is it deficient in Ports. *Puerto Viejo*, or the *Old Port*, lies in 1° 15′ S. L. and was formerly a Place of ſome Note; but it was ſo often plundered by the Buccaneers in their Paſſages from the *North* to the *South Seas*, that it ſunk at laſt into a Village. But the great Port of *Quito*, by which all its Trade is carried on, is *Guiaquil*, a very conſiderable Place. It ſtands in the Latitude of 2° 30′, about four Miles up a River of the ſame Name, Part on the Side, and Part on the Foot of a Hill of eaſy Aſcent. The Port

is

it a very good one, and the Town makes a very handſome Figure, having ſeveral Churches and fine Buildings. The Trade carried on here in Cocoa, Hides, Tallow, Sarſaparilla, and other Drugs, beſides *Quito* Cloth, and Serges, is very conſiderable; and indeed it is one of the moſt flouriſhing Places in the *South Seas*. The Inhabitants are active and induſtrious, and they build the beſt Ships here both for War and Trade that are to be met with in *Peru*. Yet no Town has ſuffered more than this from our Privateers, who have taken it frequently; the laſt time in 1710, under the Command of the Captains *Rogers* and *Cook*, when, after making a vaſt Booty, they burnt a Part of it, and ranſomed the Remainder for twenty two thouſand Pieces of Eight. Authors differ as to the Wholeſomeneſs of this Place; for ſome report it to be very healthy, others ſay that it is extremely ſickly; and both ſpeak Truth according to their Apprehenſions of the Matter. Healthy it is in compariſon of *Quito*, and other Inland Towns; but very ſickly in reſpect to *Maracaibo*, *Venezuela*, and other Places. Before we leave this Place, we muſt obſerve, that as there is very little Wood in this Province, the Timber which is made uſe of in building of Ships is brought thither from other Places, particularly from the Iſland of *Gallo*, which is not far diſtant.

The

The Province of *los Quixos* lies behind *Quito*, having *Popayan* on the North, the River of *Amazons*, which riſes in this Province, on the Eaſt; the Country of *Pacamores* on the South, and *Quito* on the Weſt. It is very far from being thoroughly ſettled; but as both the Air and Soil are better here than in *Quito*, and as great Advantages are drawn from the Commerce carried on with the numerous Nations of *Indians* inhabiting to the Eaſt, the *Spaniards* eſteem it of great Conſequence. There are ſome good Towns in it, ſuch as *Anate*, immediately under the Line; *Baeza*, which is the chief Town in the Province; *Avila*, and *Archidona*. The Country of the *Pacamores*, ſo called from the *Indians* who inhabit it, is divided from this Province by a high Ridge of Mountains, which I take to be Part of the *Andes*.

That Province which is of equal Extent with *Los Quixos*, is bounded on the Eaſt by the River of *Amazons*; on the South by part of the Province of *Peru*; and on the Weſt by *Quito*. The Inhabitants are very induſtrious, and conſequently rich: They have various Woollen and Cotton Manufacturies; and beſides, make no inconſiderable Profit of their Lavaderoes. The Capital of the Province is *Valadolid*, a Place ſo conſiderable, that it is a Biſhop's See; *Loyola*, and *St. Jago de las Montanas*, i. e. *St. Jago in the Mountains*, which lies on the Frontiers of the Province,

on

on the Banks of a pleaſant River, in a healthy and fruitful Soil. The chief Intent of theſe Settlements is to keep the *Indians* in Awe; for, as this Province borders on a vaſt undiſcovered Country, neither *Quito* nor *Peru* would be ſafe, if there were not ſome good Towns here, partly to bridle, and partly to entertain a Trade with the *Indians*. Theſe are far from being ſo baſe and barbarous a People as ſome repreſent them; on the contrary, as they are ſtrong and robuſt in their Perſons, ſo they are brave and generous in their Diſpoſitions, eaſily wrought upon by kind and gentle Uſage, but fierce and intractable if any Attempts be made upon their Freedom. The miſſionaries however preach amongſt them with Succeſs; and it muſt be owned that they take a very proper Method to convert them, for they protect them from the *Spaniards*, form them into civil Societies, and take all imaginable Care that no body ſhall have the fleecing them but themſelves; yet even this is very advantageous to the *Spaniſh* Provinces, as it ſecures them from thoſe Invaſions which were formerly frequent, inſomuch that they were ſometimes diſpoſſeſs'd of large Tracts of Country, and all their Settlements deſtroyed. But enough of this Audience of *Quito*; let us now proceed to that Province which may be called *Peru proper*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *Of the Audience of* Lima.

THIS is generally called by the *Spaniards*, the *Royal Audience*, not only becauſe the Viceroy hath his Seat there, but by reaſon of its having the ſole Direction of all the Affairs of *South America*, during the Vacancy of the Viceroyſhip. This Audience of *Lima* is bounded on the North by that of *Quito*; on the Eaſt by that unſettled Country we have ſo often mentioned; on the South by the Audience of *Los Charcas*; and on the Weſt by the *Pacific* Ocean. It extends from 5° 20′ to 18° of S. L.

It is not eaſy to imagine any thing more various or uncertain than the Climate and Soil of this Country. In ſome Places it is exceſſively hot, in others very cold; at *Lima*, and on the Coaſt, always temperate. The Seaſons vary within the Compaſs of a few Miles, and in ſome Places all the Varieties of Weather are experienced within the Compaſs of twenty-four Hours: But what is moſt ſingular in this Reſpect, and hath exerciſed the Wits of curious Perſons moſt, is the Want of Rain, and in a great meaſure of Rivers on the Sea-Coaſt. The Soil differs in like manner; on the Shore it is barren, and looks as if it was burnt up: Farther up the Country

Country there are Vallies clothed with perpetual Verdure, and Plains of a rich and fruitful Soil. By this Mixture it falls out, that taking the whole Audience together, we may ſay it is extremely rich, ſufficiently fruitful, and wonderfully pleaſant. The Seat of the Viceroy, the Beauty of the Country, the Conveniency of the Ports, and above all, the Abundance of Gold, and other rich Commodities, renders this Territory extremely populous, and full of conſiderable Cities and great Towns, that is, in compariſon of other Countries under the *Spaniſh* Government.

The City of *Lima*, which is not only the Capital of this Audience, but of all *South America*, is ſituated in 12° 1′ S. L. and in 76° 34′ of Longitude Weſt from *London*, at the Diſtance of two Leagues from *Callao*, which is its Port on the *South Sea*. It ſtands in a pleaſant Valley, and owes its Foundation to the Conqueror of *Peru*, *Francis Pizarro*, who called it *Cividad de los Reyes*, i. e. *the City of Kings*, and who began to build it in *January* 1535. The Plan of this Place is extremely well contrived, the Streets perfectly ſtraight, and of a convenient Breadth. In the Midſt of the City is a grand Square, which may be juſtly accounted one of the fineſt in the World. On the Eaſt Side of it ſtands the Cathedral; on the North the Palace of the Viceroy; on the Weſt ſeveral publick Edifices; on the South Piazzas, and handſome

ſome Shops of all Sorts. In the Midſt there is a curious brazen Fountain. The River of *Lima* runs on the North Side of the City, and divides it from a very conſiderable Suburb, which is however joined to the City by a very beautiful Stone Bridge, conſiſting of five Arches. This River is generally fordable except in the Midſt of Summer, when the Snows being melted on the Mountains, where there alſo falls at that Seaſon a great deal of Rain, it is thereby raiſed to a conſiderable Height. In point of Fortifications, there is very little to be ſaid, notwithſtanding what we find in ſome Books of Travels. It is indeed ſurrounded with Walls eighteen or twenty Foot high; and theſe again are ornamented with Baſtions; but then what are theſe Walls? nothing but Brick dried in the Sun, ſo thin and ſo ill built, that they cannot ſupport the Weight of Cannon; neither is there ſo much as a Ditch; ſo that except it be the *Indians*, no Enemy could be kept out an Hour by them. In point of Magnificence, we are told that the Inhabitants keep about four thouſand Calaſhes, which are the only kind of Vehicles here, and are drawn by Mules. A ſtronger Teſtimony we have from the Diſplay the Merchants of this City made of their Wealth in 1682, when on the Entry of the Duke *de la Palata*, their Viceroy, they paved two of the Streets, thro' which he paſſed, with Ingots of Silver, to the

Amount of eighty Millions of Pieces of Eight, which is about eighteen Millions Sterling. But it is not conceived to be near ſo rich at preſent. Beſides the Court of the Viceroy, and of the Royal Audience, this is the Seat of an Archbiſhop, and Metropolitan ſince the Year 1546. His Suffragans are the Biſhops of *Panama*, *Quito*, *Truxillo*, *Guamanga*, *Ariquipa*, *Cuſco*, *St. Jago*, and the *Conception*. It hath alſo eight large Pariſhes, a great many Hoſpitals, and ſo many Monaſteries and Nunneries, that it is a difficult thing to reckon them. There is likewiſe a Tribunal of the holy Office, or of the Inquiſition here, which however is not very terrible, becauſe both the Viceroy and the Archbiſhop have Seats therein; and, to crown all, there is a Univerſity. As to the Number of Inhabitants, it is not eaſy to ſay any thing with Certainty; the modeſteſt Computation I have ſeen reckons eight or nine thouſand white Families, and about eight and twenty thouſand other Inhabitants; though ſome would perſuade us that here are double the Number.

It is impoſſible to imagine a more pleaſant and delightful Climate than that of the City of *Lima*, though it ſtands in the Midſt of the torrid Zone. Notwithſtanding it never rains, yet the Sky is generally overcaſt, which defends the Inhabitants from the fiery Beams of the Sun, and renders the Weather cool and plea-

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ſant. Add to this, that they enjoy the Advantages of all the Seaſons at once; for, as we obſerved before, that they vary throughout the Province; ſo the Produce of all Parts being brought hither, there are in the Markets of *Lima* all ſorts of Fruits in full Perfection the whole Year round. It is true, the Sea-Coaſt is generally barren and bare to the laſt degree, but in the Neighbourhood of this City there are Variety of pleaſant Valleys, watered either naturally or artificially by living Streams, adorned with Orange-Groves, and whatever elſe can render them elegant and pleaſing. But with all theſe Bleſſings, the Citizens are not without continual Apprehenſions, which muſt ſufficiently qualify their Enjoyments, ſince there is no Place in the World more ſubject to Earthquakes. On the 17th of *June*, 1678, a great Part of the City, and ſeveral of its Churches, were thrown down in a quarter of an Hour; yet this was a ſlight Misfortune to what happened on the 19th of *October*, 1682, when the City ſuffered two hundred Shocks in the Space of twenty-four Hours, inſomuch that it was wholly overturned, and the Inhabitants deliberated for ſome time whether they ſhould rebuild their City on the ſame Spot where it ſtood before, or endeavour to find out ſome other, where they might have at leaſt a Probability of being ſafer. On this Account their Buildings are far leſs magnificent than otherwiſe

they would be, the Climate too favouring this ſlight kind of Building; for where it never rains, almoſt any Houſes will laſt long, and anſwer all other Purpoſes tolerably well.

*Callao*, which is as I have ſaid the Port of *Lima*, lies on the Coaſt of the *South Sea*, in the Latitude of 12° 10′. Its Road is by much the largeſt, faireſt and moſt ſecure in the *South Seas*. Ships anchor there in what Depth of Water they will, and without any Apprehenſion of Danger. The Town makes a good Figure from the Sea, having abundance of publick Edifices, ſeveral Churches, and five Monaſteries; though the Number of Inhabitants does not exceed four or five hundred Families at moſt. It is ſurrounded by a Wall fortified with ten Baſtions, and is believed in *Spain* to be a Place of great Strength, for it coſts the King annually great Sums for the Garriſon, Fortifications, and Squadrons of Men of War, which are ſuppoſed to lie in this Port. Yet ſuch is the Vigilance, ſuch the Integrity of his Officers, that the Soldiers at *Callao* are hardly enough to mount Guard; the Walls are in many Places fallen down; and it would take ſome Months to repair the Ships, ſo as to be fit to go to Sea. It is nevertheleſs a Place of prodigious Conſequence, and of very extenſive Trade, as the Reader will perceive from the conciſe Account we ſhall give him of its Commerce. There are two Flota's annually ſail from hence, one for

for *Arica*, the other for *Panama*. The former ſails about the End of the Month of *February*, and having received at *Arica* the Silver ſent from *Potoſi*, returns towards the End of *March*. In the beginning of *May*, the Flota ſails for *Panama*, having on board the Wealth brought from *Potoſi*, the Silver from *Chili*, which comes in the *Valparaiſo* Fleet, the King's Revenue and Merchandizes from all Parts of *Peru*, and the Audience of *los Charcas*; and on the Return of this Fleet, laden with *European* Commodities, they are diſpoſed of from hence, Part by Sea, Part by Land, to all the different Places to which they are deſtin'd. Beſides theſe Fleets, there ſail annually two Ships for *Acapulco*, of which we have already given an Account; and the *Indian* Commodities which they bring back, are all depoſited in the Magazines here, and ſent from hence to all the Southern Provinces of *America*.

Beſides *Callao*, there are ſome other Ports in this Province, though none comparable to that. To the Northward lies the little Harbour of *Guanchaco*, neither ſafe nor commodious, yet however ſerves for the Traffick carried on by the Inhabitants of *Truxillo*, which lies ſix Leagues above it, and is a very rich and flouriſhing Place. Twenty-ſix Leagues South from *Lima* lies the Port of *Sangalla*, in the Latitude of 14°, and near it the Iſle of *Lobos*, and ſome other little Iſles,

where formerly the Natives of *Peru* went to ſacrifice to their Idols. Some other Roads and Creeks there are of little Conſideration, till you come to *Ariquipa*, which is the moſt Southern Port. The Entrance of it is narrow, but when you are once in, there is good Anchorage in eighteen Fathom Water. It ſtands about a hundred Leagues from *Lima*, in the Valley of *Quilea*, and is without Controverſy the pleaſanteſt City in *Peru*, and enjoys a very pure wholeſome Air. It is a Biſhop's See, but not very populous, there not being above four or five hundred Houſes in it at moſt, yet there is a wonderful fine Country about it, exceedingly fruitful, and well ſtocked with Cattle; but though it is a very important Place, there are few or no Fortifications round it; and it is the Obſervation of a *Spaniſh* Writer, that the Safety of its Inhabitants conſiſts in the Ignorance of Foreigners of their wretched Weakneſs.

The Inland Towns of *Peru* are alſo very conſiderable. *Guanuco* is a large Town ſeated in a pleaſant Valley in 10° of *South* Latitude. In the Country adjacent all Sorts of *Spaniſh* Fruit grow in the higheſt Perfection. *Guamanga*, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, *St. Juan de la Vittoria*, ſtands in the Midſt between *Lima* and *Cuſco*. It is ſeated on a fine River, ſurrounded with beautiful Gardens; and the Air is remarkably pure and freſh. It is a Biſhop's See, erected chiefly for the Sake of

of the *Indians*, the Miſſionaries, who are employed to convert them, making it their principal Station. From thence to *Cuſco* it is about forty-five Leagues, travelling all the Way on the Royal Road ſo called, becauſe it was made by the *Yncas* of *Peru*. This famous Metropolis of the *Peruvian* Empire ſtill retains ſome Marks of its former Magnificence, and ſuch as will always ſtrike intelligent Strangers with a juſt Idea of the Power and Wiſdom of the antient Monarchs of that Country, notwithſtanding all the Pains the *Spaniards* have taken to pull down and deſtroy the *Ynca*'s Palace, and the reſt of the publick Edifices. Out of the Ruins they take thoſe large Stones of which their Houſes are here built, as they owe a great deal of their Riches to the Diſcoveries they daily make of the hidden Treaſures of the *Indians*. The Air of *Cuſco* is ſo remarkably pure and wholeſome, that ſick People come thither from all Parts of *Peru* in order to recover their Health.

The mountainous Country about *Cuſco*, and throughout the Middle of *Peru*, is well inhabited by the *Indians*, who are better treated here than elſewhere. The *Spaniards* demand of them a ſmall Tribute, which is paid half yearly; in all other Reſpects they are not only free, but alſo at Liberty to gain their Bread as they think fit; and as their Maſters are not much addicted to Labour, ſo

theſe People being induſtrious, exerciſe all kind of Manufactures; and, beſides addicting themſelves to a kind of peddling Trade, they live much at their Eaſe, and ſometimes acquire a good deal of Wealth. They likewiſe trade with thoſe *Indian* Nations who have no direct Commerce with the *Spaniards*; and by furniſhing them partly with Neceſſaries, partly with Baubles, obtain from them conſiderable Quantities of Gold Duſt, and other rich Commodities, which they again barter with the *Spaniards* for ſuch Tools and Ornaments as they ſtand in need of.

Before we quit the Audience of *Lima*, it is neceſſary for us to obſerve, that within its Bounds there are found almoſt all kinds of Mines. Of Gold there are ſeveral, beſides very rich Lavaderoes: thoſe particularly in the Diſtrict of *Guanuco* near *Lima*, will be for ever famous for two extraordinary *Pepitas*, or Lumps of pure Gold that were found in them, and are by far the largeſt that were ever heard of, the one weighing ſixty-four Marks, the other forty-five; the Mark is eight Ounces; and what is ſtill more ſingular, the laſt of theſe contained Gold of different Degrees of Fineneſs, *viz.* of eleven, eighteen, and twenty-one Carrats. There are alſo ſeveral Mines of Silver; and there were more eſpecially in the Neighbourhood of *Cuſco*, before thoſe of *Potoſi* were diſcovered, which are much richer, and are wrought with

with far leſs Expence. However, in 1713, they opened here at *Cuſco* the rich Mine of *St. Anthony*, of which they had great Hopes.

But there is another Mine, which though it yields neither Gold nor Silver, is more conſidered than all the reſt in the Province. It is in the Neighbourhood of *Guancavalica*; it lies in the Latitude of 14°, at the Diſtance of about 180 Miles from the Sea. This Mine is of Quickſilver, of which it is ſuppoſed to contain an inexhauſtible Quantity. At leaſt this we know for certain, that it yields ſufficient for the Service of all the Mines in this Audience. It is managed with a great deal of Caution, for it is neither opened nor ſhut but by the expreſs Direction of the Viceroy of *Peru*. The Mine is about 100 Foot broad at the Mouth, and ſix or ſeven hundred Foot deep. The Mineral is of a reddiſh Cōlour, like a half burnt Brick. When it is taken out of the Mine, they break it to pieces, and by the Help of a quick Fire, and proper Furnace, they extract the Quickſilver much in the ſame way that our Chymiſts uſe in making *Lac Sulphuris*. It is dug out of the Mine, and purified at the Expence of private Perſons; but then they are obliged to bring it to the King's Warehouſes, on the Pain of perpetual Slavery, where they ſell it for ſixty Pieces of Eight the Quintal. The King ſells it out again for the Uſe of the Gold and Silver Mines at the Rate of Eighty Pieces of Eight.

Eight. As ſoon as there is a ſufficient Quantity drawn out of the Mine, the Mouth of it is ſhut by order of the Viceroy; and Quickſilver is a Commodity no private Man can deal in under the higheſt Penalties.

The Quickſilver from the Mine of *Guancavalica*, as well as all the Commodities and Manufactures of the City of *Guamanga*, and thereabouts, are tranſported by Land to the Port of *Piſco*, of which I forgot to ſpeak when I enumerated the Harbours on this Coaſt. It lies in 13° 40′, and the Road before it is equally ſafe and commodious. This Place heretofore ſtood cloſe by the Sea-Side; but on the 19th of *October*, 1682, there happened an Earthquake, which occaſioned the Sea to retire half a League, whence returning with prodigious Violence, it ſwept away the whole Town. The new one was built about a quarter of a League from the Sea, and contained about three hundred Families, moſt of them Meſtizos or Negroes: But on the 3d of *February*, 1716, this too was demoliſhed by an Earthquake; but inaſmuch as the Harbour is very good, and there are great Conveniencies of wooding and watering here, we may ſuppoſe that by this Time it has recovered its former State.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIV.

### *Of the Audience* de los Charcas, *or as ſome call it, the Audience* de la Plata.

THIS Province is not only known by the Names mentioned in the Title of this Chapter, but alſo by that of the Audience of *Chuquiſaca*, from a City of the ſame Name, of which we ſhall preſently take Notice. It extends from 18° to 24° S. L. and from 63° to 75° of Longitude, Weſt from *London*. It is bounded on the North by the Audience of *Lima*; on the Eaſt by *Paraguay*; on the South by *Chili* and *Tucuman*; and on the Weſt by the *South Sea*. The greateſt Part of it lies in the Torrid Zone; but the Frontier, towards *Chili* and *Tucuman*, lies in the South temperate Zone, yet the Climate is but indifferent throughout. On the Shore it is exceſſively hot, and the Inland Parts of the Country partake ſo much of the other Extreme, that it is ſaid the *Spaniſh* Ladies, when pregnant, are compelled to ſeek a warmer Climate before they can be delivered. The Soil however is generally ſpeaking fruitful; on the Coaſt it is made ſo by Art, but the Valleys among the Mountains in the Inland Part, are from Nature luxuriouſly fertile, being every where ſufficiently watered; whereas there are no Rivers

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at all upon the Coaſt. As to the Commodities of this Country, though it may be juſtly ſtyled one of the richeſt in the World, yet they may be reduced to two, *Pimento*, which grows upon the Coaſt, and is a kind of Pepper little different from that which we call *Jamaica Pepper*, and which produces to the Inhabitants ſix hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight *per Annum*. The other Commodity is Silver, of the Value of which, for the Space of fifty Years, we ſhall preſently ſpeak, from the Authority of the beſt *Spaniſh* Writers, and the Records of *Potoſi*.

Throughout the whole Extent of this Province there are very rich Mines, ſome near the Coaſt, ſome at a greater Diſtance, ſome very lately diſcovered, and ſome which have been wrought ever ſince the *Spaniards* ſettled here. We will begin our Deſcription with the Capital of this Country, which is *La Plata*, or, as the *Indians* call it, *Chuquiſaca*, a large, populous, and well built City, erected by Pope *Paul* V. into an Archbiſhoprick, having for its Suffragans the Biſhops of *La Paz*, or *Chuquiaca*, *St. Miguel el Eſtero*, *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, *Santa Trinidad de Buenos Ayres*, the *Aſſumption* in *Paraguay*, and the *Aſſumption* on the *River of Plate*. It was formerly very conſiderable on account of the rich Mines in its Neighbourhood, many of which are now neglected; however, it is ſtill the Capital of the Audience, and one of the

the moſt conſiderable Cities in the *Spaniſh* Dominions. It lies in the Latitude of 20°, at the Diſtance of near three hundred Miles from the Sea Coaſt, one hundred and fifty Leagues S. E. from *Cuſco*, about two hundred from *Lima*, and about fifty N. E. from *Potoſi*. This laſt Place, ſo famous for its inexhauſtible Treaſures, lies in the Latitude of 21°, toward the Extremity of the torrid Zone, in a Climate much colder than ours, though according to the Latitude in which it lies, it ought to be exceſſively hot. The Reaſon of its Coldneſs is its great Height, expoſed to Winds, and particularly one they there call *Tomahavi*, which is fierce and cold, and prevails from *May* till *Auguſt*. The Mountain is naturally dry, cold, barren, bare, and uncouth, producing neither Fruit nor Graſs, and ſcarce habitable; and yet the Plenty of Silver has cauſed it to be inhabited, and afford Plenty of all Things. The Colour of the Earth is a dark red, the Shape of the Hill is like a Sugar Loaf, riſing above all the other Hills about it; the Aſcent ſteep, yet ſo as that they go up it on Horſeback, about a League in Compaſs at the Bottom, and a quarter of a League from the Top to the Foot. From the bottom of it riſes another Hill called *Guanapotoſi*, that is, *Young Potoſi*, where there were formerly Mines, but the Veins were not fixed. At the Foot of the great Hill lies the Town of *Spaniards* and

and *Indians*, which is about two Leagues in Compaſs, where is a prodigious Trade. The *Ingas* wrought at the Mines of *Porco*, but never knew theſe, which were found by an *Indian*, called *Gualca*, of the Nation of the *Chunbibilcas*, in the Territory of *Cuzco*, who following ſome Deer, they ran up the Hill, and he purſuing up the ſteep Part, laid hold on a Buſh that grew in a Vein, and being torn up, diſcovered the Metal which the *Indian* knew by being acquainted with the Mines at *Porco*. He carried ſome Pieces of it to *Porco*, to be aſſayed by Fire, and privately melted the Silver he drew from thence, till another *Indian* of the Vale of *Xauxa* obſerving that he throve better than he had done before, and had larger Pigs of Plate, preſſed him to impart the Secret. *Gualca* told him, and they agreed to divide the Mine, but ſoon fell out, becauſe he of *Xauxa* knew not how to refine his Silver, and *Gualca* would not tell him how he managed his; ſo that being incenſed on this and other Accounts, he diſcovered the Matter to his Maſter, whoſe Name was *Villareal*, reſiding at *Porco*, who finding the Treaſure his Servant had told him, obliged *Gualca* to regiſter, and ſtake out the Vein jointly with him, which is marking out the Number of Yards the Law allows to thoſe that diſcover or work Mines; by this Means, and notifying the ſame to the proper Officers, they became Proprietors of the Mine,

to

to work it as their own, paying the King the fifth Part of the Product. This firſt Regiſter of the Mines of *Potoſi* was in *April* 1545. From that Time new Entries were made, as new Mines were diſcovered; and that we may form ſome Idea of the immenſe Wealth accruing from the Diſcovery of theſe Mines to all *Europe*, I ſhall ſet down from the Regiſter, the King's Fifth, from the Year 1545 to the Year 1595, which amounted to one hundred and eleven Millions of *Peſos*. This Term has led many Writers into Miſtakes, who have computed them as Pieces of Eight, whereas it is certain that the *Peſo* is an imaginary Denomination, like our Pound Sterling, and is worth thirteen Reals and a quarter, which makes a vaſt Alteration in ſo large an Account. The King's annual Fifth then for that Time was about eight hundred and eighty thouſand Pound *per Annum*, which is indeed a prodigious Sum; and therefore I am apt to think that this Account is not the King's Fifth, but the Silver of which he received the Fifth, and even at this Rate, theſe Mines in fifty Years produced upwards of forty four Millions Sterling. They are ſtill wrought to an immenſe Profit, though not to near ſo great as formerly.

The Town of *Potoſi*, which ſtands at the Foot of the Hill, is very large, and the Buildings very magnificent, eſpecially the Churches. The Number of its Inhabitants is computed

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at 60,000, of which 10,000 are *Spaniards*, the reſt *Indians* and Slaves. The neighbouring Cantons of the *Indians* are obliged to furniſh annually ſuch a Number of Labourers as are demanded. This is done about *Chriſtmas*; and though the *Indians* go with little Spirit to *Potoſi*, yet it is obſerved that many of them ſettle there, and never return home, as they might do at the End of the Year. It is a great Miſtake we are under in our Notion, that Negroes are employed in working theſe Mines, ſince it is certain that though they are much ſtronger and more robuſt than the *Indians*, yet they are not able to bear the Exhalations of the Mines, which ſtifle them as ſoon as they are let down; neither would the *Indians* be able to work, if they were not frequently refreſhed with *Paraguay* Tea.

Weſt from *Potoſi* ſtands *Porco*, in the Neighbourhood of which there are Mines much richer than thoſe of *Potoſi*, but harder to work by reaſon of the Water which is found in them, whereas there is none in the Mines of *Potoſi*, even at a very great Depth. Nearer to the Coaſt are the famous Mines of *Lipez*, in the Latitude of 23°; they are numerous, and were formerly very rich: they are now wrought to great Profit, and without doubt would be more minded than they are, if ſo many new Mines were not daily diſcovered, which yield ſtill more Silver, and with leſs Trouble; as for Inſtance, thoſe that

that *Oruro*, a little Town eighty Leagues from *Arica*, whence they draw a fifth Part of Silver from the Ore, beſides many others. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that when Mines are ſhut up, and no longer wrought, we muſt not ſuppoſe that they are totally loſt, for after a conſiderable Space, they open them again, and draw from them freſh Riches, ſometimes in greater Quantities than at firſt. The very Droſs, and Refuſe of the Mines of *Potoſi*, after being thrown into the River, and raked from thence, hath been found to yield large Quantities of Silver, which probably grew therein, after it was firſt wrought.

Though we hear very little ſaid of the Gold of this Country, yet it is not deſtitute of that precious Metal. At *La Paz*, on the Frontiers of the Audience of *Lima*, there is one of the richeſt Mines in *America*, whence the *Indians* call it *Chuquiago*, or the *Golden Grange*. About the Year 1680, there happened a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning thereabouts, which ſtruck down a Piece of the Mountain *Ilimana*, the Shivers of which flew all over the City, and being picked up were found full of Grains of Gold, though that Mountain is ſo high as to be always covered with Snow. At the other Extremity of the Audience of *los Charcos*, towards the Country of *Chili*, in the Neighbourhood of a Town called *Tarya*, there are alſo Gold Mines which are very rich.

The moſt conſiderable Places in this Audience, beſides thoſe which we have already mentioned, are *Santa Cruz la Nueva*, *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, *Oropeza*, &c. of all which we have not Room to ſpeak here. But as to the Ports in this Province, it is neceſſary we ſhould ſay ſomewhat. *Ilo*, or as the *Spaniards* call it, *Ylo*, is the moſt northern Port in the Lat. of 17° 37′. It has but an indifferent Road, and the Village in its Neighbourhood is far from being conſiderable. The *French*, during the late War, made a kind of Settlement here, and carried on a great contraband Trade, notwithſtanding the Climate is ſo unwholeſome, that it frequently carried off one half of a Ship's Crew.

*Arica* is the proper Port of *Potoſi* and *la Plata*. It is an indifferent good Road, if it were not open to the South. Formerly it had ſome Fortifications, but they are now decayed, and the Place is very little better than a Village, occaſioned chiefly by its being extremely ſubject to Earthquakes, and withal exceſſively unwholeſome. One great Cauſe of this is the Stench of Cormorants Dung, which the Inhabitants call *Guana*: this they gather with great Care, and thereof they make a great Profit. It is uſed to manure the Earth, and is ſaid to fertilize it ſo much, as to make it yield four or five hundred Buſhels for one.

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This Port of *Arica* ſtands in the Lat. of 18° 29′, at the Diſtance of about 70 Leagues from *Potoſi*. In the Month of *March* they begin to bring the Silver from thence to *Arica*, and in *June* the Flota from *Lima* comes to fetch it. There is a conſtant Intercourſe between *la Plata*, *Oruru*, *Lipes*, and this Port, by Land, for the Conveniency of which there are Inns at every four Leagues, inſomuch that it is computed there are two thouſand Perſons employed in the Management of theſe Inns, and as Carriers: Yet this is nothing in compariſon of the Numbers employed in the ſame Way, with reſpect to the Inland Commerce with the Mines; for, as this extends through the whole *South America*, there are not leſs than ten thouſand People concerned therein, who are continually in Motion. Beſides all this, there is a Communication both by Land and Water between *Potoſi* and *Buenos Ayres*, by which, if the Crown of *Spain* thought fit, the Silver might with great Eaſe be brought into *Europe*. But it is time to quit *Los Charcas*, and to proceed from this Country of Silver to that which of all others abounds moſt in Gold.

## CHAP. XV.

### *Of the Audience of* Chili.

THIS very rich Country lies along the Coaſt of the *South Sea*, from the S. Lat. of 26° to that of 47°; and from 61° to 72° of Longitude Weſt from *London*, that is, taking in the whole of the Country ſo called by the *Spaniards*, and not confining ourſelves to that only which is ſettled and conquered. On the North it is bounded by *Peru*; on the Eaſt by *Tucuman*, *Paraguay*, and the *Terra Magellanica*; on the Weſt by the *South Sea*; through the Midſt of it, from North to South, run thoſe prodigious high Mountains, called by the *Spaniards*, *Sierra Nevada de los Andes*, to which, ſome Writers tell us, the *Alps* themſelves are but Hillocks, and in paſſing over them, the Air is found to be ſo pure and light, as not to ſerve, at leaſt conveniently, for Reſpiration. Some, who have travelled over theſe Mountains, have been ſeized with ſuch violent Vomitings, as forced them to bring up vaſt Quantities of Blood; nor could they poſſibly have ſurvived a very few Minutes, on the Summits of theſe Mountains.

The Climate of *Chili* is differently ſpoken of by different Writers; ſome commend, and ſome condemn it, according, probably, to the Seaſons in which they were there; but,

but, according to the Accounts we have from the beſt Writers, ſome of them Natives of this Country, its Summers are not hotter than thoſe in *Spain*; but the Winters are more rigorous by far; whence the Name of the Country, for *Chili*, in the Language of the Natives, ſignifies *Cold*. Towards the Mountains particularly, it is ſo ſharp, that Cattle, and even Men, are frequently frozen. Beſides, in the Winter, towards the Coaſt eſpecially, there fall prodigious Rains; and during this Time the Country is accounted unwholeſome, as well as very unpleaſant. The Soil is wonderfully fertile, producing not only *Indian*, but *European* Corn, Wine, Fruits, and all the Neceſſaries of Life in Abundance; whatever Herbs, Fruits, or Flowers grow in *Spain*, are cultivated with Succeſs here: And we learn from the Accounts of the lateſt Travellers, that in the Gardens of the Cities near the Coaſt, Orange-Trees are kept bearing all the Year.

But the Products of *Chili*, which are moſt valuable in the Eyes of the *Spaniards*, are not ſuch as grow on, but are found in the Earth, in which it is, without compariſon, the richeſt Country hitherto known in the whole World, its Mountains every where abounding with Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, Mercury, Saltpetre, and Sulphur. From ſuch Parts of it as the *Spaniards* have thoroughly ſettled, they reap immenſe Profits,

and yet the richeſt Part of *Chili* is ſtill in the Hands of the Natives, and like to remain ſo, their mountainous Situations affording the *Indians* ſuch Advantages, as the *Europeans*, conſidering their ſmall Number, can hardly ever ſurmount. In the mean time, the Governors run away with the greateſt Part of the Wealth accruing from this important Settlement, the King on the one hand being daily cheated of his Revenues, and on the other, paying prodigious Salaries, which are ſtiled here, *Real Situado*; ſo that ſmaller Returns are made to *Spain* on the King's Account from hence than can well be imagined. It muſt however be owned, that within theſe twenty Years, ſome Pains have been taken to remedy theſe Abuſes. After the Diſgrace of the great Duke *de Ripperda*, ſome of the *Spaniſh* Nobility adviſed King *Philip* to have ſent him Governor hither, and as he was a Man of great Parts, well ſkilled in Trade, and of a Temper not to be diſcouraged by croſs Accidents, it is very probable he might have done great Things here, both for himſelf and for the *Spaniſh* Crown; but being diſappointed of this Preferment, he is ſaid in Revenge to have formed ſome Schemes for the taking away *South America*, entirely from its preſent Maſters. However, this perhaps may not be ſo certain as ſome have pretended, for that Nobleman was wont to ſpread Reports

ports of himſelf, which had not always the beſt Foundations.

The Natives of *Chili* are of a kind of Copper Colour, tall, well made, robuſt Perſons, extremely active, very ingenious, and withal brave, and Lovers of Liberty. At leaſt ſuch they were when the *Spaniards* broke in upon them, about the Middle of the ſixteenth Century. The Marquis *Pizarro* gave this Government to *Peter de Valdivia*, a great Politician, and a good Officer, unfortunate only in not having a ſufficient Body of Men. He founded the preſent Capital *St. Jago*, as well as a City of his own Name; but when he once diſcovered that the Country was full of Gold, he attempted ſo many Eſtabliſhments, that he gave the *Indians*, whom he had treated alſo harſhly, Opportunity, as he had before given them Inclination to revolt and to recover their Country. They conducted this Deſign with equal Boldneſs and Addreſs. Before they took up Arms, they conſidered attentively the *Spaniſh* Manner of Diſcipline, the Uſe of Fire-Arms, and the Advantages reſulting from them. They then fell upon ſome ſtraggling Parties, and having defeated and deſtroyed them, ſeized their Arms, and made uſe of them, as well as if they had been accuſtomed to the Soldiers Trade from their Infancy. *Peter Valdivia* ſaw his Error too late, and endeavoured to rectify it as ſoon as was poſ-

ſible. He collected with the utmoſt Expedition, a very conſiderable Body of Troops, with which he marched againſt the *Indians*, who did not engage him immediately, as he expected, but by attacking ſeveral Places of the utmoſt Importance, forced him to make Detachments, and then fell upon the Body commanded by himſelf, and cut him and them to pieces. This was in the Year 1552, and by this Defeat the *Spaniards* had well nigh loſt the Country. His Lieutenant, *Don Francis de Villagra*, was a Perſon, in Favour of whom a Digreſſion will ſeem pardonable. As ſoon as the News reached him of the Governor's Misfortune, he immediately ſlighted the advanced Poſts, and even abandoned ſome of the new Towns, that he might preſerve the reſt. The Inhabitants were ſo well ſatisfied both of his Capacity and Integrity, that they refus'd no Service upon which he put them, which ſaved the Province. The Government however at *Lima* thought proper to remove him, merely becauſe he had acted without their Authority, directing the Magiſtrates of Cities to govern till they took farther Order; but they wiſely repreſented againſt ſo ruinous a Scheme, and at their Interceſſion *Villagra* was conſtituted firſt Magiſtrate, and Commander in chief. While he acted in this Capacity, he obtained ſeveral great Victories over the *Indians*, and made conſiderable Conqueſts, though they carried

on

on the War regularly, fortified their Camps with Intrenchments, and erected ſeveral Forts in order to cover the open Country. In all Probability he would have reſtored the Colony to its former State, but the Viceroy of *Peru* wiſely ſent his Son to take from him the Command, and to ſend him Priſoner to *Lima*, which was accordingly done; but the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants ſtill preſerve the Memory of his glorious Atchievements, and own him for the Conqueror of *Chili*, or at leaſt ſo much of it as hath remained in their Hands ever ſince.

This Country extends not leſs than three hundred Leagues from North to South, but then its Breadth is nothing proportionable; it is entirely under the Government of its Preſident, for lying at ſuch a Diſtance from *Lima*, the Viceroy ſeldom interferes. For the Sake of the more eaſy Diſtribution of Juſtice, it is divided into three Diſtricts, *viz.* thoſe of *Chili proper*, *Imperial*, and of *Cuyo*. As to the Number of Inhabitants, they are not according to the lateſt and beſt Accounts any way agreeable to ſuch a vaſt Extent of Territory. The *Spaniards* throughout the Whole are not accounted above twenty thouſand Men capable of bearing Arms; of Meſtizos, Mulattos, Negroes, *&c.* there may be between ſeventy and eighty thouſand; but the Bulk of the Inhabitants are *Indians*. Of theſe, ſome are ſtyled *free*, and others *ſubjected*.

*jected.* The former own'd the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, but they pay him no Tribute; whereas the latter belong to the *Spaniards*, live amongſt them, and ſerve them; not however as Slaves, but as Servants: they are divided according to their Habitations into little Lordſhips of ſo many Families more or leſs, ſtyled *Commanderies*, which the King gives to whom he pleaſes. If the *Indians* live with their Lord and ſerve him, he muſt not only maintain them, but give them each thirty Pieces of Eight a Year. On the other hand, if the *Indians* are not inclined to live with their Lord, they are exempted, paying him an annual Tribute of ten Pieces of Eight. The Number of theſe ſubjected *Indians* may be about fifteen thouſand. There are alſo ſome *Indian* Slaves which are ſold to the *Spaniards* by the free *Indians*, yet by the Laws they cannot be ſold a ſecond Time, but by their own Conſent.

The free *Indians* amount to many thouſands, and inhabit the greateſt Part of the Country, eſpecially towards the Mountains. About the Year 1690, they made their laſt Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniards*, by which on the one hand they acknowledge the King of *Spain* for their lawful Sovereign, and on the other he granted them to live peaceably according to their own Manner, and their own Laws. They are governed by their reſpective Chiefs, whom the *Spaniards* ſtyle *Caciques*; but the

*Indians*

*Indians* themſelves do not acknowledge that Title. Theſe Chiefs, like the Judges of *Iſrael*, claim no Authority, but in adminiſtering Juſtice, and commanding their Tribes in time of War, having neither Palaces nor Revenue, nor any great Marks of Reſpect paid them, except in the Execution of their Office. They alſo manage the whole Affairs of their Nation in certain general Aſſemblies, where each has a Seat, and free Liberty of Speech; after Debate, the Queſtion is decided by Plurality of Voices. Every free *Indian* is bound to have his Horſe and Arms always in order, ſo that on the Sound of a Trumpet, they immediately mount and repair to their reſpective Poſts, where their Chiefs form them into order: Their Arms are Pikes, Bows and Arrows, with Swords. When they engage, they do it regularly, in Squadrons and Battalions, never fighting but with a Moraſs in their Rear, into which, in caſe of the worſt, they retreat, and fortify themſelves ſo effectually, that it is rarely found adviſeable to attack them. They have very little Religion, and yet are very unwilling to receive the Inſtructions of the Miſſionaries, chiefly becauſe the Chriſtian Religion forbids Drunkenneſs and Poligamy, to both which Exceſſes they are, generally ſpeaking, extravagantly prone. Notwithſtanding this, they are commonly very healthy, and live to great Ages. It is obſerved that by degrees they accuſtom them-

themſelves to the *Spaniſh* Manners, which gives that Nation great Satisfaction, though perhaps it is not very well founded; for as theſe People are very brave, and very far from being Barbarians, they may ſome time or other quarrel with the *Europeans*, and once again expel them their Country.

The Reader will ſee the Probability of this, when we have told him what happen'd here ſo lately as in the Year 1715. During the long Wars, on Account of the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*, great Inconveniences aroſe in *America*, from the Want of due Attention to the Conduct of the Viceroys and Governors in that diſtant Part of the World. The Governors of the *City of Conception* in *Chili* were ſeveral of them of this unruly ſort; a Deſire of getting hindered them from attending to the Conſequences, even of the moſt violent and unjuſt Proceedings, eſpecially towards the *Indians* of the Plain, who were divided into Commanderies, and of conſequence ſubject to the *Spaniards*. This had rendered them moody and diſcontented, though they are naturally the moſt docile People in the World. The Son of the firſt Preſident of the Audience of *St. Jago*, a Youth of about two and twenty Years of Age, coming to have the ſupreme Command there, drove them into an open Rebellion, in preparing for which they acted with ſuch Addreſs, that the Conſpiracy was upon the Point

Point of breaking out before it was ſuſpected. The young Governor behaved worſe upon this Occaſion than he had done before, obliging the Inhabitants to ſend many of their *Indians*, who were innocent, to Priſon, and even proceeding ſo far as to execute ſeveral of them in order to ſtrike, as he pretended, Terror into the Rebels.

At the Time this happened, there were a great many *French* Ships in the Road, and upon this Occaſion the Officers went in a Body to offer the Governor their Service. He received them with the utmoſt Contempt, told them the *Spaniards* never needed any Aſſiſtance either to ſecure or to inlarge their Conqueſts; nay, threatened to puniſh them for carrying on an illicit Trade, though a third Part of the Squadron were able to have taken and burnt the Town if they had ſo pleaſed. Upon this the *French* ſailed away, and within a few Days after this modern *Don Quixot*, having firſt privately ſent to *Peru* his moſt valuable Effects, would willingly have fled himſelf, and have left the Town to the Mercy of the inraged *Indians*; but the Inhabitants prevented him. By a ſeaſonable Supply of Forces from *St. Jago*, the Rebellion was quaſhed, partly by fair means, and partly by Force. On this Occaſion the *Indians* of the Plain had demanded Aſſiſtance of the free *Indians*, but were refuſed it, only they were content to intercede for them, when

when theſe Troubles were compoſed. From hence it may be eaſily judged, that of all the *Spaniſh* Provinces in *America*, this is in moſt Danger; and yet ſuch is the Luxury and Corruption of this infatuated Nation, that they go on oppreſſing the *Indians* and neglecting their Fortifications, as if they had nothing to fear either from the Fury of their Enemies, or from the Reſentment of their Maſter.

After having ſaid ſo much of the Inhabitants, it is now time to ſpeak of the Places they inhabit; and, in order to do this with ſome Method, we will treat of the Diſtricts before-mentioned, in the Order in which they lie.

In order then to proceed regularly in the Deſcription of this great Country, we ſhall advance from North to South, mentioning all the conſiderable Ports, and other great Towns as they are found in the Maps, taking in thereby the two maritime Provinces of *Chili proper* and *Imperial*, and then we will ſpeak of the Diſtrict of *Cuyo*, which lies quite behind theſe, and hath not hitherto been fully ſettled, though the *Spaniards* promiſe themſelves great future Advantages therefrom.

The firſt Place we meet with then in paſſing from *Peru* is *Copiapo*, in 27° of S. L. to which belongs the Port of *Caldera*, which has a Road tolerably ſafe, and would probably

bly be much frequented, if Wood and Water were not exceſſively ſcarce and dear. *Copiapo* lies fourteen Leagues to the Eaſtward of Port *Caldera*, and twenty Leagues according to the ordinary Road, over a miſerable Country, deſtitute of all things either pleaſant or convenient. Until of late Years it hath paſſed for a Place of no great Importance; but ſince 1710, it has been conſidered in another Light. A *Spaniſh* Author ſays it is the richeſt Place in the World; and the Reaſon he aſſigns would induce one to think him in the Right. Its Foundations are of Gold, that is, the Village of *Copiapo*, for ſo it originally was, ſtands upon a Gold Mine exceſſively rich. This however is not wrought at preſent, becauſe at about ſix Miles Diſtance, they have diſcovered Mines of Gold ſtill richer. What theſe Mines, well managed, might produce, is uncertain; but, by an Account given by a *Fleming*, who in the Year 1720 was employed in working them, the Reader may form ſome Computation; and therefore from his Account we will ſtate the Facts.

The Inhabitants of *Copiapo*, according to his Apprehenſion, might be ſeven hundred, the Perſons employed in the Mines a thouſand at leaſt. Their Mills were twelve in all, and one Day with another they extracted from the Mineral, one hundred and fifty Ounces of Gold, or about thirty thouſand

Ounces

Ounces in a Year, as appear'd by the Inſpector of the Mines Account. This Gold might be ſold on the Spot for fifty Shillings an Ounce, conſequently theſe Mines yield better than eighty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. The Neighbourhood of this Place, though nothing can be more miſerable in Appearance, is however rich beyond Expreſſion. Saltpetre lies, or rather ſtands upon the Ground two Feet high in many Places; and any where elſe this alone would be ſufficient to attract a Trade. About ſixty Miles South from *Copiapo* are Lead Mines, neither wrought nor thought of; yet ſome intelligent Perſons think them more valuable than the Gold ones, becauſe ſome who have viſited them, have picked up on the Surface of the Earth ſeveral Pounds of *Lapis Lazuli*, one of the moſt valuable Commodities in the World; nay, it is affirmed that this *Peruvian* Stone is not at all inferior to that which comes from the *Eaſt Indies*, but is rather of a deeper Blue, and has fewer Veins. In the *Cordilleras* Mountains, which lie Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt from this Town about a hundred Miles, there are Mines of Sulphur, which in their kind ſurpaſs all others. The Vein here is two Foot broad at leaſt, whence the Sulphur is drawn perfectly pure, ſo that they have nothing to do but to carry it away and expoſe it to Sale. Such are the Riches of *Copiapo*, which notwithſtanding hardly affords Bread

and

and Roots to the ſcanty Number of its Inhabitants.

In moving South towards *Coquimbo*, you paſs through an hundred Leagues of the worſt Country in the World, without meeting with either Village or Town, Tree or Shrub, River or Brook; ſo that frequently the Cattle upon the Road periſh for Want of Refreſhment. In this Journey, however, you ſee many Mines of Copper and Tin; and in a Mountain on the South-eaſt there have been found very fine *Turkey* Stones; though, for Want of any Settlement near it, the farther Search of them has been abandoned. The Cold of this Country is ſcarce to be expreſſed: the *Indians* of *Peru* are frequently killed by it.

The River of *Coquimbo* gives Name to an agreeable Valley through which it rolls into the Sea. The Bay at the Mouth of it is a very fine one, and Ships lie there very ſafely as well as commodiouſly, though the Coaſt is rocky; but ſome Iſlands ſo effectually keep off the Winds, that there is no ſort of Hazard in lying as cloſe to them as poſſible. The Town is commonly called *Coquimbo*, but the Name of it is properly *la Serena*. It lies in the Lat. of 29° 53′, and boaſts of one of the fineſt Situations in the Univerſe. The few Streets it has are ſtraight, and well laid out; there is a reaſonable Plenty of Water, tho' the River of *Coquimbo* is generally fordable.

Every Houſe has a large Garden filled with Oranges, Olives, *&c.* An endleſs Verdure reigns here without Storms, without parching Heat, or any Cold that is inconvenient. The Soil is fruitful, and all the Country about it abounds with the Neceſſaries of Life, eſpecially Corn, Wine and Oil, exquiſite in their kind, and exceſſively cheap; there is the ſame Plenty of Cattle, tame and wild Fowl; and in the adjacent Valleys there is ſo plentiful a Breed of Horſes, that one which would coſt thirty or forty Pounds in *England*, may be had here for half as many Shillings. After all this, the Town of *la Serena* is a very pitiful Place; there are indeed five or ſix Convents, which make a tolerable Appearance, but except the Governor's, all the Houſes in the Town are mere Cabbins, and the People who inhabit them, are far enough from being at their Eaſe, I mean in the *Spaniſh* Senſe of the Word, that is, they are not rich. There are no Mines of Gold in this Neighbourhood, and though there are many of Copper, yet they are little wrought. We muſt not however imagine that they are altogether deſtitute of rich Commodities, for, in the Winter Seaſon, when the Rains are violent, all the little Brooks bring down Gold, of which, if they had Hands enough, a great Profit might be made; but as all the Inhabitants do not exceed twelve or fifteen hundred Perſons at moſt, they do not get much.

The

The Trade of this Place conſiſts in ſending four or five Ships yearly to *Lima* laden with Flower, Wine, and other Proviſions, in return for which they receive all ſorts of *European* Goods, which are tranſported from hence into other Parts of *Chili*. This Place has been often plundered heretofore by our Buccaneers. The *Spaniards* have now ſecured it effectually; they have render'd it ſo poor, that it is not worth plundering.

The next Port on this Coaſt of any Conſequence is that of *Valparayſo*; it lies in 32° 15′ of S. L. and is by much the moſt conſiderable Haven in theſe Seas, being conſtantly frequented by Veſſels from *Callao* and *Panama*, which come hither to lade Corn: they are of conſiderable Burthen; and therefore there is no doubt of meeting here with experienced Pilots for any Part of the Coaſt, eſpecially to the Northward. The Harbour is tolerably good, in the Summer Months eſpecially, but in the Winter it is inſecure, by reaſon of its lying open to the North Wind, which blows then with great Force. Some Pains has been taken to fortify this Place; and the *White Caſtle*, or *Caſtillo Blanco*, as the *Spaniards* call it, makes a formidable Appearance; but then there are rarely above two or three Guns in a Condition of firing. Beſides this, there is another Fort which covers the Road. The Port of *Quintero*, which lies about five Leagues to the North, and

is very near as good as this, has no Fortifications at all. Ships ſometimes lie there for Conveniency till they can get a Lading from *Valparayſo*. This conſiſts chiefly in Corn, of which ſuch vaſt Quantities are ſent to Market, that the Magiſtrates have a diſcretionary Power of ordering as much as they think proper to be thrown into the Sea, that the Remainder may ſell the better; and this they have ſometimes puſhed ſo far, as to deſtroy many thouſand Loads at once; which, conſidering the extraordinary Scarcity many Cities in the *Spaniſh* Dominions frequently experience, muſt be regarded as a very ſtrange Stroke of their Policy, much like that of their *Lima* Merchants, who ſo overlade their Veſſels with Corn, that they founder at Sea.

At the Diſtance of 28 Leagues from *Valparayſo* to the South-eaſt, lies the great City of *St. Jago*, or rather, as I take it, *the City of St. James the Great*, whom the *Spaniards* call *San Jago*; for *St. James the Leſs*, they call *San Diego*. This City, which is the Capital of *Chili*, ſtands in 33° 40′ S. L. at the Foot of the Mountains, having a very fine Plain before it, watered by no leſs than three Rivers. It is very regularly built, and makes a fine Shew, every Houſe having a Court before, and a Garden behind it. The whole City is ſo happily watered, that, by the Help of Canals, they not only ſupply their Gardens plentifully, but can alſo, whenever

ever they think fit, turn a Stream of Water through each of the Streets, keeping them thereby continually clean and cool. In the Center of the Place there is a very fine Square. The Eaſt Side of this is taken up by the Cathedral and Archbiſhop's Palace. On the North ſtands that of the Preſident, the Courts of Juſtice, and the Priſon. On the South there is a Row of Piazzas, with very commodious Shops under them; and the Eaſt Side is taken up by rich Merchants Houſes. The Number of Inhabitants may be about eight thouſand Whites, and between twenty and thirty thouſand *Indians* and Mulattos. In ſome Authors we have very pompous Deſcriptions of this City, much ſurpaſſing any thing I have ſaid, or indeed can ſay; but the Miſchief of it is, that theſe are taken entirely from Report; what I have ſet down is from an Eye-Witneſs, and a Perſon who is an Engineer by his Profeſſion, who owns, that the City of *St. Jago* is pleaſant and pretty; but as to Streets of Stone Buildings, he ſays not a Word; nor ſhould I have copied him, if he had, ſince in a Country frequently troubled with Earthquakes, and in a City twice ſubverted by them in fifty Years, Stone Houſes would be far from deſirable Habitations. In truth, they are no better than Lath and Plaiſter; but the Plaiſter being extremely white, and painted ſo as to reſemble Stone, might poſſibly give Occaſion to this Report.

The Citizens of *St. Jago* are rich, and live much at their Eaſe, many of them retiring hither from *Baldivia*, the *Conception*, *Valparayſo*, and other Places, when they have acquired Eſtates by Trade; and ſome again grow very rich even here by being concerned in the Gold Mines at *Tiltil*, which are about half way between *St. Jago* and the Sea, and in ſeveral Lavaderoes nearer the City, which are very rich, and in which they ſometimes find Pieces of Gold of an Ounce Weight, twenty-three Carrats fine. In the Mountains immediately behind the City, particularly in that called *St. Chriſtopher Lampanquio*, there have been within theſe thirty Years Mines of all ſorts of Metals diſcovered, cloſe together; *viz.* of Gold, Silver, Iron, Copper, Lead, and Tin; but, for Want of Hands, and becauſe they do not yield quite ſo great a Profit as ſome others, they are neglected. As for the *Indians*, they deal little in theſe Metals on their own Account; they content themſelves with raiſing Corn, and feeding Cattle; and though they have Plenty of both, they are very far from being rich, ſince even in a Country where Money is ſo plenty, their Wheat, which is very good, will not yield more than a Groat a Buſhel.

We have now gone through the Province of *Chili proper*, and are next to enter that of the City of *Imperial*. The firſt Place we meet with of Conſequence is the Town and Port

Port of *Conception*, which lies in 36° 42′ S. L. The Port is good, and the Town very neat, ſeated cloſe on the Side of the Bay, whence it makes a fine Shew. The *Indians* call this Place *Penco*, i. e. *I have found Water*. The *Spaniards* look upon this as a Place of great Conſideration, as indeed it is; and therefore his Catholick Majeſty allows three hundred and fifty thouſand Pieces of Eight *per Annum* for maintaining a Garriſon here of three thouſand five hundred Men: There are alſo ſome Fortifications and Forts on the Land-Side, in order to defend the Place againſt the *Indians*, but all miſerably out of Repair; and the major part of the Garriſon ſleep in the Governor's Pocket, that is to ſay, he keeps up fifteen hundred or two thouſand Men poorly clothed and ſadly paid, putting the reſt of the King's Money into his own Coffers. Yet is this City of *Conception* a Biſhop's See, which was transferred thither when the *Indians* took and deſtroyed the City *Imperial*; and here likewiſe was the Royal Chancery, till out of mere Fear of the *Indians*, they thought fit to remove it to *St. Jago*. The Force of the Town conſiſts in its Trade, for this keeping always a conſiderable Number of Ships in the Bay, the *Indians* are afraid of attempting any thing; and from a Confidence of this, the *Spaniards* live lazily and without Care, though it is more

than probable that they may ſome time or other repent it.

Before we leave this Place, it may not be improper to take Notice of a beneficial Trade carried on by the Inhabitants of the City of *Conception* with the *Indians* behind them, who, though they are not Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*, nor have ever negotiated a Peace with the *Spaniards*, yet trade with them, and this in a very particular Manner. Theſe *Indians* are ſtyled *Peulches*, and inhabit the *Cordillera*, or *great Chain of Mountains* at the Back of *Chili*, for a Space not certainly known, and who retain exactly the ſame Manners and Cuſtoms they had before the *Spaniards* arrived here. When a Perſon goes to trade with them, he addreſſes himſelf to the Cacique or Chief. No ſooner this little Prince ſees a Stranger, than he cries out, *What! are you come?* The *Spaniard* anſwers, *Yes, I am come.* The Cacique's next Queſtion is, *Well! what have you brought me?* The Merchant anſwers, *A Preſent.* To which the Prince replies, *Then you are welcome.* A Lodging is inſtantly provided him, near that of the Cacique's, whither all his Family go to viſit the Stranger, in hopes he will make them ſome Preſents. In the mean time a Horn is ſounded, to give Notice to the *Indians* who are abroad, that a Merchant is arrived. Upon this they all run to the Place, where the Stranger exhibits his Treaſure, conſiſting

conſiſting of Knives, Sciſſars, Pins, Needles, Ribbands, ſmall Looking-glaſſes, *&c.* All theſe the *Indians* carry away without giving any thing for them, only a Price is ſettled; and thus the Merchant credits Folks he never ſaw, and whom, for ought he knows, he may never ſee again. After a certain Time is elapſed, the Horn, by the Direction of the Cacique, is ſounded a ſecond Time, when immediately the Savages return, and exactly perform their reſpective Promiſes. The Goods they deal in are Cattle, Skins of wild Beaſts, and ſome Gold; but this they bring only in very ſmall Quantities, knowing well how dear the Poſſeſſion of that Metal hath coſt their Neighbours and their Anceſtors. As for the other *Indians*, who were formerly ſubdued, and have now recovered their Freedom, they have little or no Intercourſe with the *Spaniards*.

The Port of *Baldivia*, of which we are next to ſpeak, lies in 39° 36′ S. L. This Place is very advantageouſly ſituated, three Leagues within a ſpacious Bay, and is defended by four pretty ſtrong Caſtles, mounting in all above a hundred Braſs Guns, of a conſiderable Size. The Garriſon too is or ought to be very conſiderable, the King allowing yearly three hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight for their Pay, and for keeping the Fortifications in Repair. It is however very oddly compoſed, for all the Soldiers, and moſt

moſt of the Officers, are Criminals ſent hither from *Peru*, as in other Places they are ſent to the Gallies. It is, it ſeems, a Maxim in the *Spaniſh* Government, ſeldom or never to puniſh any white Perſon with Death, but to content themſelves with placing them as they are here in a Frontier Garriſon. But whatever the Officers and Soldiers may be, the Governor is always a Man of Quality, and one who pays pretty roundly for that Poſt, purely that he may have the Honour of paying that large *Situado* above-mentioned, or elſe have a good Reaſon ſhewn why it is not paid. Some Perſons of good Intelligence ſay, that a very honeſt Viceroy of *Peru* contents himſelf with ſtopping only a Third, and that a Governor of a ſcrupulous Conſcience puts no more than a Fourth of what remains in his Pocket: Such honeſt People, however, do not come often to the *Indies*. This Place is not only threatened by domeſtick, but alſo by foreign Enemies; and there have been Times, in which the *Spaniards* equally dreaded the *Indians* and the *Dutch*. The latter, in 1643, actually made themſelves Maſters of the Place, and intended to have kept it, but that Famine and Sickneſs compelled them to retire, which gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of reſettling it. I muſt however take Notice, that the Viceroy of *Peru* acted upon this Occaſion like a true *Spaniſh* Governor; he delayed ſending Supplies

plies till the Place was taken; but being then apprehenſive he might be puniſhed for this ill Conduct, he aſſembled ſuch a Body of Troops, and made ſo much haſte to *Baldivia*, that the *Dutch* were obliged to quit it in great Confuſion, being, as I ſaid, attacked before with Famine and Sickneſs, and left therein thirty Pieces of Cannon, and all their Baggage. The preſent Number of Inhabitants in this City may be about two thouſand, or rather more. Heretofore its Commerce was more conſiderable than at preſent, becauſe of ſeveral Gold Mines in its Neighbourhood, which are not wrought now; yet there are ſtill eight or ten Veſſels of between four and five hundred Tons each, which are employed in carrying on the Trade between this Port and *Lima*. The Cargoes they carry are Hides, Goat Skins tanned, *a la Cordovan*, Salt Meat, Corn, and ſome Gold: They bring back Chocolate, Spices, Sugars, and all Sorts of *European* Goods.

Farther to the South the *Spaniards* have a Garriſon of five hundred Men, at a Place called *Aranca*; as alſo a Settlement in the Iſle of *Chiloe*, which is a very pleaſant and fruitful Place, and the utmoſt Boundary of *Chili*, towards the South; conſequently we have fulfilled this Part of our Taſk, and are to ſpeak next of the inland Diſtrict.

This Diſtrict is ſtyled *Chicuito:* it lies to the Eaſt of *Chili*, on the other Side of the Mountains,

Mountains, from the thirtieth to the thirty-eighth Degree of South Latitude, being in Length about two hundred Miles, its Breadth very uncertain. The whole Country is famous for its prodigious Fertility, owing chiefly to the numberleſs Rivulets of melted Snow, which run down from the Mountains which ſurround it. Its Products are Corn, Wine and Oil, of which the Plenty in Quantity, is not greater than the Excellence in Quality. The Towns here are few, and not very conſiderable: The Capital of the Province is the Town of *Mendoza*, ſeated at the Opening of the Mountains from *St. Jago:* In its Neighbourhood there are excellent Copper Mines, *St. Juan de la Frontera* is now the moſt populous Place in the Country: it ſtands about ſixty Leagues North-eaſt from *St. Jago*, and in the Mountains near it there are Silver Mines exceſſively rich. There is nothing farther remarkable in this Part of *Chili*, except what is common to the whole Audience, and that is, the being free from all venomous Creatures; for though there are in ſome Parts Toads, in others Serpents, and in many Places Spiders of an enormous Size, yet it is certain that none of theſe are poiſonous, no, not even the Scorpions, which are ſometimes found in the Graſs, but were never known to do any Miſchief. The Days in the Summer are very ſhort in *Chicuito*, the high Mountains

Mountains intercepting the Light of the Sun within a few Hours after Noon.

## CHAP. XVI.

### *Of the Province of* Tucuman.

I Thought it unneceſſary to go farther South in order to ſpeak of the *Terra Magellanica*, becauſe, though the *Spaniards* claim it, they have no Settlement there; and I have ſaid enough in the firſt Book to prevent the Reader's being led into any Miſtakes about it. In quitting *Chili* therefore I proceed Eaſtward, in order to reach again the oppoſite Ocean, and ſo to ſpeak of the *Spaniſh* Settlements to the South of *Brazil*, on the River of *Plate*, which falls into the *North Sea*. I could not do this without taking Notice of the large Country of *Tucuman*.

It lies in the midſt, between *Paraguay* and *Chili*; nor is it eaſy to ſtate its Boundaries; however, we will do it in the beſt Manner we may. On the North there are none but barbarous Nations, the Names of which it would be needleſs to repeat. On the Eaſt lies *Paraguay*, and the River of *Plate*; on the South the unknown Country called *Terra Magellanica*; on the Weſt, part of *Chili*, and part of *Peru*. Where it begins, we cannot ſay with any Certainty; but the beſt Writers own it does not extend to above 37°

S.L. As it lies for the moſt part in the temperate Zone, we need not ſay much of its Climate; only this is remarked, that ſo much of it as lies in the torrid Zone is exceedingly cold, which is occaſioned by the Height of the Mountains. Farther South there are vaſt Plains, and great Foreſts. When the *Spaniards* invaded it, about the Year 1558, they found it very populous, but they found means to deſtroy an infinite number of People, tho' they did themſelves little Good. The Cities of *St. Jago* and *St. Michael* are now the moſt conſiderable of thoſe poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards* in theſe Parts; but they owe any Dominion they have over the Natives, rather to the Pains taken by their Prieſts, eſpecially the Jeſuits, than to the Force of their Arms, or the Wiſdom of their Government. The principal Thing aimed at in ſettling Towns and Garriſons in this Country for the Space of three hundred Miles, is to ſecure a Communication between the Plantations on the *North* and *South Seas*; not but that there reſults ſome Benefit from the Trade carried on with the *Indians*, of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter, in diſcourſing of the Commerce of *Buenos Ayres*.

Since the Acceſſion of *Philip* V. to the Crown of *Spain*, the Miſſionaries in theſe Parts have had their Privileges much augmented, which has enabled them to make many thouſand Converts, and to extend their own

own Power conſiderably, though perhaps they have not done much to increaſe that of the Civil Magiſtrate, for which they generally make this Pretence, that whenever their Converts come to converſe with the *Spaniards*, they begin to loſe their Reſpect for the Chriſtian Religion; which, if true, is ſurely a little extraordinary, and not much to the Honour of this Catholick Nation.

## CHAP. XVII.

### *Of the* Spaniſh *Settlements on the River of Plate, particularly* Buenos Ayres.

IT is an old Obſervation, that Names are not always impoſed according to the Reaſon of Things. The new World, of which we have been ſpeaking, did not receive that of *Columbus*, who diſcovered it, but was called *America* from *Americus Veſpuſius*, who deſcribed it, or at leaſt firſt publiſhed his Deſcriptions to the World. In like Manner the *Spaniards* call that great River which falls into the Ocean in 35° S. L. *Rio de la Plata*, though in truth it is the leaſt of three Rivers which compoſe that Stream. The firſt of theſe is the great River of *Paraguay*, which riſes in the Weſtern Part of *Brazil*, in the Latitude of 60°, or thereabouts; running Southward, it paſſes through the great Lake of *Charaſis*; and about fifty Miles below the City

City of *Aſſumption* it joins the *Rio de la Plata*, in the Latitude of about 30°. About ſixty Miles lower, the great River *Parana* joins them, and rolls in Conjunction towards the Sea. Beſides theſe there are many other leſſer Rivers, which concur in forming ſo vaſt a Body of Water in ſo long a Courſe, ſuch as the *Rio Vermejo*, *Rio Blanco*, *Rio Salado*, *Rio Tercero*, &c.

The River of *Plate* receives its Name from the City of *la Plata* in the Audience of *los Charcas*, in the Neighbourhood of which it riſes, and runs two thouſand Miles before it falls into the Sea, below *Buenos Ayres*, its Mouth being little ſhort of ſixty Leagues broad. By the Help of this noble River, there is a quick and ſtraight Paſſage from *Potoſi* to *Buenos Ayres*, and a good Road thither alſo by Land, though theſe Cities are diſtant five hundred League from each other, an immenſe Tract of Territory, all ſaid to be under the Dominion of the King of *Spain*. As it would take up much Room to deſcribe theſe inland Countries, and to mention the ſeveral Eſtabliſhments made by the *Spaniards* for the Sake of ſecuring a Communication between the ſeveral Provinces of *Peru*, *Los Charcas*, *Chili* and *Tucuman*, with the City of *Buenos Apres*, I ſhall content myſelf with giving an Account of this laſt mentioned Place, which is, on many Accounts, one of the

the moſt important Settlements which the *Spaniards* have in the *Weſt Indies.*

The City of *Buenos Ayres* is ſeated on the South Side of the River of *Plate*, about ſixty Miles above the Mouth thereof, the oppoſite Shore of the River belonging to the *Portugueze.* It lies in 35° S. L. and is ſuppoſed to receive its Name from the Excellence of its Climate, which is indeed indiſputable, there being few Places on the Globe comparable therewith, in point of Pleaſantneſs of Situation, or Fertility of Soil. The City is built on the Side of a Hill, at the Mouth of a little River which falls there into the *Rio de la Plata.* It conſiſts of about four thouſand Houſes (if *Coreal*, from whom we take this Particular, was not miſtaken in his Computation) built for the moſt Part of Earth, tho' ſome Perſons of Diſtinction live in Brick Buildings. There is a Fort, and ſome other Fortifications, with a Garriſon, but, if we may truſt the Writer laſt mentioned, a Native of *Spain*, zealouſly affected to his preſent Catholick Majeſty, and who reſided in this Place ſix Months, very ill provided.

The Importance of *Buenos Ayres* conſiſts chiefly in its convenient Situation for Commerce, indeed for ſuch a Commerce as no Port in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* can boaſt of the like. Hither come, even from the moſt diſtant Provinces in the *Spaniſh* Empire, the moſt valuable Commodities in order to be

exchanged for *European* Goods; ſuch as *Vigognia* Wooll from *Peru*, Copper from *Coquimbo*, Gold from *Chili*, and Silver from *Potoſi*. From the Towns of *Corientes*, and *Paraguay*, the former two hundred and fifty, the latter five hundred Leagues from *Buenos Ayres*, there are brought thither Tobacco extremely valuable, Sugar, Cotton Thread, Yellow Wax, and Cotton Cloth, moſt of which is uſed at *Buenos Ayres*, and in its Neighbourhood, by the Slaves and other Domeſticks, being cheaper, and anſwering their Purpoſe full as well as either *French* or *Dutch* Linen. Theſe are the Merchandize of the Town of *Corientes*. As for the Trade of *Paraguay*, it conſiſts almoſt intirely in the Herb ſo called, which in theſe Countries is of prodigious Value. The Uſe made of it is to compoſe a certain Draught, Infuſion, or Tea, which recovers ſuch as work in the Mines from thoſe grievous Cholicks and intolerable Diſorders in the Stomach, cauſed by the Exhalations in ſuch Places. The Herb of *Paraguay* is of two ſorts, *Camini*, and *Yerva con palos*, one eſteemed of twice the Value of the other; but it is uſually mixed as Congo and Pekoe Tea with us. Thoſe who go to *Paraguay* to buy it, are obliged to ſtay two Years before they return. The firſt Crop being always beſpoke, and in a manner abſolutely diſpoſed of, ſo that theſe Traders muſt content themſelves with making the beſt Bargain

Bargain they can for the next, in order to which, Preſents to the Governor, and many other Articles of that Sort are neceſſary. The Amount of this Trade is at leaſt a Million of Pieces of Eight *per Annum*, all paid for in Goods, thoſe who have the Government of *Paraguay* ſuffering no Money to paſs there. Theſe Goods are Knives, Sciſſars, Ribbands, Taffaties, Silk Stockings, *Engliſh* Bays, Hats of all Sorts, and coarſe Cloth from *Quito*. All theſe Merchandizes are carried through this vaſt Extent of Country in little Waggons; though between *Buenos Ayres* and *Corientes* there are not leſs than fifteen or ſixteen great Rivers, in paſſing which the Cattle are made to ſwim, and the Goods are paſſed over on Floats made by taking the Waggons to pieces.

The Merchants do not bring any more of theſe valuable Commodities to *Buenos Ayres* than are abſolutely neceſſary for the Supply of the Inhabitants, but ſend them to the Town of *Santa Fé*, in order to avoid double Carriage, and double Duties. Thence they tranſport the Herb of *Paraguay* to *Potoſi*, partly in Waggons, and partly on Mules: This they do at all times of the Year with equal Facility; and though it be a Journey of five hundred Leagues, yet they commonly perform it in a Month. They diſpoſe of the Herb of *Paraguay* for ready Money, and generally gain upon it *Cent. per Cent.* having

ſometimes made three hundred *per Cent.* of the Goods by which they purchaſed it in Exchange. The Journey to *Chili* is much more troubleſome, though not above fifty Leagues farther, becauſe the Paſſage through the Mountains, which divide that Country from the inland Parts of *America*, is paſſable only from *December* to *March*. As far as the Town of *Mendoſa*, which is three hundred Leagues from *Buenos Ayres*, the Goods are carried in Waggons drawn by Oxen, thence they are tranſported on the Backs of Mules to *St. Jago de Chili*. The Paſs in the Mountains is about ſixty Leagues in Length, and takes up commonly ſix or ſeven Days. What makes it the more troubleſome, is the Neceſſity which the Merchants find themſelves under of carrying Proviſions for themſelves, and Forage for their Mules, as well as their Goods; but from *St. Jago* to the Mines the Way is altogether eaſy and pleaſant.

The Commerce between *Buenos Ayres* and *Peru* is chiefly for the Sale of Cattle, and of Mules; ſuch as are concerned in the former, go firſt to the Governor, and aſk his Leave to drive a Herd of Cattle into *Peru*, which is never refuſed, if the Petition be backed by a Preſent of ſome thouſand Pieces of Eight. The next thing to be done is taking thirty or forty thouſand wild Cows out of the King's Paſtures, which is performed by Perſons who apply themſelves to that Buſineſs for their Livelihood,

Livelihood, and who deliver theſe Creatures at about three Pieces of Eight *per* Head. At this Rate thirty thouſand Cattle may come to about a hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, and at Market they fetch about two hundred and fifty thouſand. The Commerce in Mules is carried on in quite a different Manner, for the Merchants of *Peru* and *Potoſi* ſend Factors annually to *Buenos Ayres* for this Purpoſe. The firſt Step with them is obtaining the Governor's Licence, by the Help of a very conſiderable Preſent. They next addreſs themſelves not only to the Inhabitants of *Buenos Ayres*, but to all ſuch as have Farms in the Neighbourhood, and enter into Agreements with each, ſpecifying the Times when, and the Number of Beaſts that ſhall be delivered to them. At the appointed Time they receive theſe Mules, and mark them with a hot Iron on the Shoulders, being thenceforward to be maintained at their Expence. Theſe Creatures coſt them between two and three Pieces of Eight each, and are driven by pretty quick Journies to *Salta*, which is about two thirds of the Way to *Potoſi*. There they winter, and are fatted with all imaginable Care. When they are in full Fleſh, they carry them to *Potoſi*, where they are ſold for ſeven, eight or nine Pieces of Eight *per* Head; but ſuch as are carried into *Peru*, or farther, fetch forty or fifty Pieces of Eight at leaſt, and ſometimes much more.

The Trade carried on between *Buenos Ayres* and *Europe* ought to be only by the Regiſter-Ships from *Spain*, and the *Aſſiento* Ship, ſent by the *South-Sea* Company from *England*; but beſides theſe they are ſaid to carry on a great contraband Commerce; in reſpect to which, as I have no authentick Memoirs, I do not think it proper for me to treat of it. When I ſay this, I would be underſtood only of the contraband Trade to *Spain* and *England*; for there is a third Sort of illicit Commerce to which I can very well ſpeak. This is carried on with the *Portugueze*, who, as I obſerved before, poſſeſs the oppoſite Shore of the *Rio de la Plata*. Thence they take Occaſion to ſend from time to time little Veſſels laden not only with their own Commodities, but with ſuch as they receive from *Europe*; and this in Spite of all the Care the *Spaniſh* Governor can or at leaſt will take; for it is Intereſt governs every thing in the *Indies:* I wiſh it was in my Power to ſay that its Influence was felt only there.

From this Account of *Buenos Ayres* it appears, how well Governor *Pulleyn*'s Project lately publiſhed under the Title of, *A Propoſal for humbling* Spain, was grounded, and to what excellent Purpoſes it might be carried into Execution. By taking this Place alone, or even by making a good Settlement in its Neighbourhood, we ſhould have the *Spaniards* at our Mercy.

# BOOK. III.

## CHAP. I.

### *Of the Trade between* Spain *and the* Weſt Indies.

IT has been always the ruling Maxim in the *Spaniſh* Councils to preſerve by all means poſſible the Commerce with the *Weſt Indies*, not only to the *Spaniſh* Nation, but to the Crown of *Spain*. On this Principle they reſtrained, with great Punctuality, all Strangers from paſſing into their *American* Dominions; and though there have been formerly ſome Inſtances of Foreigners paſſing through the *Spaniſh* Settlements, and even reſiding in them, yet they are ſo rare, and attended with ſuch extraordinary Circumſtances, that inſtead of admiring that ſuch things have happened, we ought rather to wonder that they have not happened more frequently, conſidering the ſtrong Paſſion that Strangers have always had for penetrating unknown Countries, eſpecially ſuch Countries as *Mexico* and *Peru*, rich in themſelves, and repreſented much richer than they were. It is true, that of late Years the *Spaniards* have found themſelves in ſome manner obliged to relax in this Point, eſpecially during the long

Controverſy about the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, when they laboured under a Neceſſity of being protected by the *French* Fleets. But as ſoon as *Philip* V. was acknowledged by the Maritime Powers for King of *Spain*, they returned immediately to their old Notions, and Orders were diſpatched to the *Weſt Indies* to compel the *French*, who were ſettled there, to return into *Europe*, and to break off all Commerce with them for the future, which in the *South Seas* at leaſt were punctually obeyed. Thus we ſee that the lawful Commerce between *Europe* and *Spaniſh America* is intirely in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, and abſolutely ſubject to the Direction of the Crown.

The Method in which this Trade is carried on is well enough known in general, but few enter far enough into its Particulars. In order to give as diſtinct an Account of this Matter as poſſible, we ſhall ſpeak of the Galleons, the Flota, the Flotilla, Regiſter-Ships, and Guarda Coſtas; and when we have done this, the Reader will perfectly comprehend the Myſtery of the *Spaniſh* Policy in this Point.

A Galleon is, properly ſpeaking, a very large Man of War, of three or four Decks, built in a Manner now altogether out of Faſhion, except in *Spain*; and the Reaſon why it is ſtill uſed there, is, that it affords a great deal of Room for Merchandize, with which the King's Ships are generally ſo much crowded,

ed, as to be in no Condition of defending themſelves. That Fleet which we call the *Galleons*, conſiſts of eight ſuch Men of War. Of theſe there are three very large ones, ſtyled *la Capitana*, *la Admirante*, and *Il Governo*; two others which are leſs, *la Patacha*, and *la Margarita*, each of fifty Guns; and an Advice Frigate of forty. The Merchant-men which ſail with this Fleet, and purchaſe their Licences at a very high Rate, are in Number from twelve to ſixteen, and in Burthen at leaſt a third Part bigger than is expreſſed in their reſpective Schedulas. Theſe Ships are intended to carry all that is neceſſary, either of Warlike Stores, or Merchandize for *Peru:* and this is the ſpecific Difference between this Fleet and the Flota, which is intended for *Mexico*. In Time of Peace, the Galleons ſail regularly once a Year from *Cadiz*, at no ſet time, but according to the King's Pleaſure, and the Convenience of the Merchants. From *Cadiz* the Galleons ſteer directly for the *Canaries*, where, if the Flota ſails with them, as it ſometimes does, they anchor together in the Haven of *Gomera*. Thence they bear away for the *Antilles*, and when they arrive at that Height, the Flota ſeparates, and the Galleons bear away for *Carthagena*. As ſoon as they double *Cape de la Vela*, and appear before the Mouth of *Rio de la Hacha*, Advice is ſent to all Parts, that every thing may be got ready for their Reception.

Reception. In the Harbour of *Carthagena* they remain a Month, and land there all the Goods deſigned for the Audience of the *Terra Firma*. Then they ſail to *Porto Bello*, where they continue during the Fair, which laſts five or ſix Weeks; and having landed the Merchandize intended for *Peru*, and received the Treaſure and rich Commodities ſent from thence on board, they ſail again to *Carthagena*, where they remain till they return to *Spain*, which is uſually within the Space of two Years. When they have Orders to return, they ſail firſt to the *Havana*, and having there joined the Flota, and what other Ships are returning to *Europe*, they ſteer through the Gulph of *Florida*, and ſo to the Height of *Carolina*, where meeting with the Weſtern Winds, they ſhape their Courſe then for the *Azores*. They take in freſh Water and Proviſions at *Terçera*, and thence continue their Voyage to *Cadiz*.

The Flota conſiſts, as well as the Galleons, of a certain Number of Men of War, and of a certain Number of Merchants Ships. The former are ſeldom more than three, *la Capitana*, *la Admirante*, and *la Patacha*. The latter are uſually about ſixteen, in Burthen between five hundred and a thouſand Tons. This Fleet ſails about the Month of *Auguſt*, that by the Favour of the Winds which reign about *November*, they may the more eaſily purſue their Voyage to *la Vera Cruz*. In their

their Paſſage they call at *Puerto Rico*, to take in freſh Water and Proviſions, then paſs in Sight of *Hiſpaniola*, *Jamaica*, and *Cuba*; and, according to the Seaſon of the Year, and the Nature of the Winds, paſs either by the Coaſt of *Jucatan*, or higher thro' the Gulph, to *la Vera Cruz*, which lies at the bottom of it. The Run of this Fleet, according to the Courſe we have mentioned, hath been thus computed. From *Cadiz* to the *Canaries*, two hundred and fifty Leagues in about ten Days; to the *Antilles* eight hundred Leagues in twenty Days; to the moſt Weſtern Point of the Iſle of *Cuba*, five hundred Leagues in twenty Days; to *Vera Cruz*, two hundred and ſixty Leagues in twelve Days, or thereabouts; in all eighteen hundred and ten Leagues in about ſixty-two Days. As the Flota is deſigned to furniſh not only *Mexico*, but the *Philippine Iſlands* alſo, as we have before remarked in ſpeaking of the Trade of *Acapulco*, with *European* Goods, they are obliged to remain there for a conſiderable Space; and, when it is neceſſary, they winter in that Port. The Cargo with which they return, is not ſo rich as that of the Galleons; but ſome Writers ſay, that it increaſes annually in its Value, which muſt be owing to the Progreſs made in ſettling what the *Spaniards* call the Kingdom of *New Mexico*.

It is uſually in the Month of *May* that the Flota leaves *La Vera Cruz*, though ſometimes

times it is detained in that Harbour till *Auguſt*. Then the Ships that compoſe it, ſail for the *Havana*; for though the Galleons and the Flota ſeldom leave *Spain*, yet they generally return, together. As ſoon as they are ſafely arrived in the *Havana*, they detach a few of the lighteſt and cleaneſt Ships to *Europe*, who, beſides Money and Merchandize, carry alſo an exact Account of the Contents both of the Galleons and Flota. Theſe Ships are called by the *Spaniards*, with Propriety enough, the *Flotilla*, i. e. *the Little Fleet*. The principal Reaſon of ſending them in this Manner into *Spain*, is to give the Court of *Madrid* an Opportunity of judging what Convoy may be neceſſary, in caſe of any Alteration of Affairs, to be ſent to eſcort the Grand Fleet, as alſo to regulate the Indulto which may be levied on the Merchants in proportion to their Intereſt in the Galleons and Flota. But the Reader may poſſibly incline to enquire what obliges this great Fleet to remain ſo long at the *Havana?* to which two Cauſes may be aſſigned, *viz.* waiting for a Wind, or for the Regiſter-Ships which they are to convoy home.

A Regiſter-Ship is ſo called, from its being regiſtered with all the Effects embarked in *Spain*, in the Books kept for that Purpoſe in the Chamber of *Seville*. As this general Account will not probably appear ſatisfactory, I ſhall endeavour to ſtate the Matter more fully. A Company of Merchants

chants having, as they conceive, juſt Grounds to imagine that *European* Goods are greatly wanted at ſome particular Ports in the *Weſt Indies*, they draw up a Memorial or Petition, containing theſe Reaſons in the cleareſt and conciſeſt Terms, and lay it before the Council of the *Indies*. The Prayer of this Petition is, That they may have Leave to ſend a Ship of three hundred Tons Burthen, or under, to the Port they mention. When Leave is obtained, they pay a certain Sum to the Crown, which is generally between thirty and fifty thouſand Pieces of Eight, beſides Preſents, and thoſe no ſmall ones, to the King's Officers, from the greateſt to the leaſt. That this however may not induce any Suſpicion of Fraud, they regiſter their Ship and Cargo, that it may appear conſiſtent with their Petition and Licence, and yet (ſuch a Fatality there attends on all Cuſtom-houſe Cautions) this Ship of under three hundred Tons generally carries upwards of ſix hundred Ton of Goods, and affords Accommodation for Paſſengers beſides. Copies from the Regiſter are tranſmitted to the Governor and Royal Officers at the Port, to which the Regiſter-Ship is bound; and ſuch is their Diligence, ſuch their Integrity, that when the Ship comes to an Anchor in the Port, they make a very narrow Enquiry, and yet there is ſeldom or never any Fraud diſcovered, but, on the contrary, this Ship of ſix or ſeven hundred

Ton

Ton returns into *Europe* with an authentick Certificate from all the King of *Spain*'s Officers, that ſhe does not carry quite three hundred, together with a Bill of Lading in the ſame Strain of Computation. By theſe Regiſter-Ships there is ſometimes a Gain of two, or three hundred *per Cent.* which enables the Owners to pay ſo bountifully for cheating the King, having firſt got the Money by robbing his Subjects.

Theſe Regiſter-Ships go to *Buenos Ayres*, *St. Martha*, *Porto Cavallo*, and other Places, to which neither the Galleons nor Flota come; yet, generally ſpeaking, they return with thoſe Fleets, as they ſometimes go out with them, and ſo leave them in a certain Latitude. The *Spaniſh* Grandees often intereſt themſelves in procuring ſuch Licences; and ſome People do not ſtick to ſay that they find their Account in it. What ſurprizes me more, is the bold Declaration of a certain *French* Writer, that our *Aſſiento* Company enter'd readily into theſe *Spaniſh* Cuſtoms, and even out-did the *Spaniards* themſelves in a Craft which they had both ſtudied and practiſed for many Years, and by making extraordinary Preſents to Governors, Comptrollers, Inſpectors, and other *Spaniſh* Officers, they amply rewarded them for the Juſtice they did their Maſter, and the Kindneſs ſhewn by them to Strangers; which no doubt were equally great. The Profits accruing by this

this Sort of Commerce making thoſe concerned therein extravagantly rich in a ſhort Space of Time, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in the *Weſt Indies*, who are known to be a ſort of People quick in their Tempers, and not over nice in point of Manners, have always had a ſtrong Deſire to be dealing this Way without the Ceremony of a Licence; and for many Years they ſucceeded to their Wiſh, partly by the Connivance of *Spaniſh* Governors, and partly by employing Force. At length this Evil grew ſo flagrant, that the Court of *Spain* determin'd to put an End to it, and, in order thereto, ſent new Governors into *America*, with very preciſe Orders on this Head, declaring at the ſame time, that they ſhould be carried fully into Execution.

Theſe Inſtructions gave Riſe to the Guarda Coſtas, or Guard-Ships, which have ſince made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and of which I think it neceſſary to ſpeak more particularly. It cannot be denied that there was originally good Grounds for equipping them, ſince the *Engliſh* in ſome meaſure, and the *Dutch* more openly, began to carry on an illicit Trade by Force. The *Dutch* Veſſels were from twenty to thirty-ſix Guns, and therefore valued nothing the Governor of *Carthagena* could do, to prevent their trading on his Coaſt; but when the Guard-Ships were ſtationed here, they for ſome time put an End to the Evil; for, falling in with

ſome

ſome of theſe Interlopers, they ſunk one, and took two, the Cargoes of which were worth upwards of a hundred thouſand Pounds; nay finding on board them ſixteen *Spaniſh* Merchants, who on a ſignal given were come off to trade, they hanged them all without Mercy. So far all was right, for, without queſtion, theſe Smuglers not only prejudiced the King of *Spain*, but even the fair Traders of their own Nations, by the clandeſtine Commerce they carried on, as the Reader will eaſily apprehend, after peruſing our next Chapter. The Captains of theſe Guard-Ships however ſoon altered their Conduct, and inſtead of taking contraband Traders, infeſted the *Engliſh* Commerce, and took without Diſtinction all they were able, at firſt under very frivolous Pretences, and at laſt without any Pretence at all. As the Governors reaped a conſiderable Profit from the Prizes theſe Privateers, or rather Pirates, brought into their Ports, they were ready to ſend deceitful Accounts to the Court of *Madrid*, which produced that Spirit of Obſtinacy, whereby they drew on themſelves the preſent War, which, as it is certainly juſt and neceſſary, will, I doubt not, end ſucceſsfully and glorioufly in Reſpect to the Adminiſtration by whom it is conducted, as well as the Admirals and other Officers who have the Honour to command His Majeſty's Forces and Fleets. Whenever this ſhall happen, theſe Guard-Ships

Ships muſt be put under new Regulation, and all Captures examined by a mixed Tribunal of *Engliſh* as well as *Spaniſh* Judges; and if in ſpite of all Expedients this haughty and ill judging Nation, who have often intrigued themſelves into ill Circumſtances, and fought away fine Provinces, which they might have kept by doing Juſtice, ſhould be mad enough to provoke us again, there will need nothing but ſending an Admiral of the Name of *VERNON*, into the *Weſt Indies*, to bring them to their Wits. The Lectures he has read at *Porto Bello*, and *Carthagena*, have, I dare ſay, made ſuch deep Impreſſions on their Memories, that, as in a Century they will ſcarce be able to repair the Ruins he has left, ſo in leſs Time they will hardly forget, that the ſame Nation produced *VERNON* and *BLAKE*; and may poſſibly chaſtiſe them by a third Commander of equal Valour, and leſs Clemency. ——But I forbear inſulting a beaten, though boaſting Enemy, and return from their piratical Guarda Coſtas, to ſpeak of their ſinking Trade, and to ſhew how it comes to paſs, that with the richeſt Territories the *Spaniſh* Monarch is one of the pooreſt, as well as proudeſt Princes in Chriſtendom. A Paradox I ſhall not find it difficult to explain.

Previous to this, it will be neceſſary to give the Reader a ſhort View of the true

Value of the Money and Effects annually returned to *Spain* from her *American* Dominions. That this cannot be done exactly, the judicious Reader will eaſily believe; but that it may be gueſſed nearly, he may without Trouble apprehend, eſpecially when we tell him, that the Computation which follows, was found among the Papers of a *French* Miniſter, who had the Superintendency of the *French* Commerce to the *South Seas* during the War.

He ſtates the Account thus:

| | Pieces of Eight |
|---|---|
| In Gold, of which the Galleons bring home between two and three Millions, and the Flota, generally, about one. | 4,000,000 |
| In Silver, by the Galleons, from eighteen to twenty Millions, by the Flota, from ten to twelve. | 30,000,000 |
| In precious Stones. By the Galleons in Pearls two hundred thouſand; in Emeralds, three hundred thouſand; in Bezoars, Turkoiſes, Amathiſts, *&c.* thirty thouſand; and of late, by the Flota, ſome Turkoiſes which may render the Amount of this Article. | 600,000 |

In

| | |
|---|---|
| In *Vigognia* Wooll, by the Galleons, fifty thouſand, by the Flota none. | 50,000 |
| *Quinquina*, by the Galleons, twenty thouſand; by the Flota as much. | 40,000 |
| In Raw Hides, by the Galleons, ſeventy thouſand, by the Flota as much. | 140,000 |
| By Hides from *Buenos Ayres* in a Regiſter-Ship. | 200,000 |
| In Logwood, by the Galleons, ſixty thouſand, by the Flota none. | 60,000 |
| In Cochineal by the Flota and Regiſter-Ships. | 1,000,000 |
| In Indigo about | 200,000 |
| In Sugars, Tobacco, and other Drugs, about | 2,000,000 |
| | 38,290,000 |

in Sterling money £8,115,250 10 0

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Means by which* Spain *is drained of the Effects brought from the* Indies.

THERE is nothing more common than to hear *Spain* compared to a Sieve, which, whatever it receives, is never the fuller. How common ſoever the Compariſon may

be, moſt certainly it is a very true one; but the Means by which all this immenſe Wealth, or at leaſt the far greateſt Part of it is drawn from the *Spaniards*, and conveyed to other Nations, and in what Proportions, is neither ſo well, nor ſo generally underſtood. To account for this ſhall be our preſent Taſk; not that we have much Hopes of doing it exactly, but that we are deſirous to provoke ſome better Pen to ſupply our Omiſſions; and, by ſtriking the Outlines for the preſent, afford the World ſuch a Likeneſs, as may invite an abler and better inſtructed Painter to finiſh the Piece. Beſides, what we have to ſay of *Spain*, may poſſibly ſuit ſome other Nation; and there is a great Pleaſure in ſtating to the Publick intricate and important Truths in ſuch a Light, as may render them bearable. This is an Age in which Flattery and Calumny ſo much abound, that few Writers know how to mention our own Affairs in Terms acceptable to all Parties. But, with reſpect to the *Spaniards*, we may certainly ſay what we pleaſe, and be ſure of an attentive Hearing.

If after the Diſcovery of the new World, as the *Spaniards* juſtly enough called it, the Government had encouraged Trade or Manufacturies, there is great Probability that the ſupreme Direction of the Affairs of *Europe* would have fallen into the Hands of the Catholick Kings. For, if all the Subjects of *Spain*,

*Spain*, without Reſtraint, had traded to theſe far diſtant Regions, this muſt have created ſuch a maritime Force, as no other Nation could have withſtood: Or, ſuppoſing the Trade had been reſtrained as it is at preſent, yet, if Manufactures had been encouraged, ſo as that the greateſt Part of the Trade of the *Weſt Indies* had been driven without having Recourſe to Foreigners, ſuch prodigious Sums of Money muſt have reſted in *Spain*, as would have enabled its Monarchs to have given Law to all their Neighbours. But, by neglecting theſe obvious, and yet certain Rules for eſtabliſhing ſolid and extenſive at leaſt, if not univerſal Dominion, her Kings had Recourſe to thoſe Refinements in Policy, which, however excellent they may ſeem in Theory, have never yet been found to anſwer in Practice. They were for fixing their Commerce by Conſtraint, and for eſtabliſhing Power by the Sword; the firſt, Experience has ſhewn to be impracticable, and the latter, perhaps, was the only Method whereby they could have miſſed that End they uſed it to obtain. In ſhort, by repeated Endeavours to ſecure the Wealth of the *Indies* to *Spain* abſolutely, they ſcattered it throughout *Europe*, and, by openly graſping at univerſal Monarchy, they alarmed thoſe they might have ſubdued; ſo that in Proceſs of time, ſome of thoſe they intended for Slaves, became their Equals and Allies, and ſome their Maſters.

Yet the Princes that took theſe Steps were not either raſh and haſty, or voluptuous and profuſe, but, on the contrary, were eſteemed by all the World the wiſeſt Monarchs of their reſpective Times, and, in many Things deſerved to be ſo eſteemed. They erred, not through Want of Capacity, or Want of Application, as their Succeſſors did, but for want of conſidering Things in a right Light, occaſioned purely by their fixing their Eyes on that dazling Meteor, univerſal Empire. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, in whoſe Reign *Columbus* diſcovered *America*, was a Prince in the Flower of his Age, too wiſe for all he had to deal with; and, in the Decline of his Age, he proved too wiſe for himſelf. Living, he by his Arts deſtroyed his Neighbours; and, if the beſt Hiſtorians may be believed, his Death was the Conſequence of his own Arts. Inſtead of confiding in *Columbus*, who, of all Men living, beſt deſerved his Confidence, he, by an unaccountable Stroke of Policy, inclined to truſt any other Man in the Management of the new found World, merely becauſe *Columbus* found it. We have ſhewn in the firſt Book how by theſe Projects he broke that worthy Admiral's Heart, and prejudiced his own Affairs. *Charles* the V^th^, who ſucceeded him, minded little any of the *Spaniſh* Concerns, farther than he could render them ſubſervient to his other Views; of which there cannot be a ſtronger Inſtance,

Inſtance, than his granting a whole Province in *South America* to the Citizens of *Augsburgh* in *Germany*. *Philip* II. was ſo much taken up in endeavouring to reduce the *Netherlands*, inſlave *Italy*, conquer *England*, over-run *France*, and in annexing *Portugal* to his Dominions, that he never conſidered his Subjects in the *Spaniſh America* farther, than as they enabled him by Supplies of Money to carry on theſe his vaſt Deſigns.

From what has been ſaid it is evident, that however wiſe, however penetrating theſe Princes might be, they certainly overſhot themſelves in their Schemes concerning the *Weſtern Indies*. Inſtead of looking upon it as an Eſtate, they ſeem'd to think it only a Farm, of which they were to make preſently the moſt they could. In doing this, it muſt be owned, they acted with Skill and Vigour, for they drew immenſe Sums from thence, which they waſted in *Europe* to diſturb others, and in the End to deſtroy their own State. Mr. *Lewis Roberts*, Author of *the Map of Commerce*, an excellent Book for the Time in which it was written, tells us, that it appeared by the Records in the Cuſtom-houſe of *Seville*, that in the Space of ſeventy-four Years, computing backwards from the Time in which he wrote, the Kings of *Spain* had drawn into that Country from *America*, two hundred and ſixty Millions of Gold, which make about ninety-one Millions Sterling. He

alſo obſerves, that this very Prince, *Philip* II. of whom we have been ſpeaking, ſpent more in his Reign than all his Predeceſſors in the whole of their reſpective Reigns; tho' no leſs than 62 Kings had reigned before him. Yet this cunning, this ambitious Monarch left his Subjects in a Manner quite exhauſted, and, by eſtabliſhing a moſt pernicious Syſtem of Politicks, left the total Ruining of his Dominions by Way of Legacy to his Succeſſors, a Point which with wonderful Obſtinacy they have purſued ever ſince.

All who are in any degree acquainted with the Hiſtory of *Europe* know, that for a long Courſe of Years *Spain* maintained Wars in *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and ſometimes in *Ireland*, which created a prodigious Expence of Treaſure and of Troops; neither of which, from the Death of *Charles* V. they were in any Condition to ſpare. As Families were reduced by the Expence of ſerving in the Army, they were inclined to ſeek new Fortunes in the *Weſt Indies:* and thus Numbers went over thither, not to cultivate the Country, or to improve Trade, but to ſtrip and plunder thoſe who were there before them. Other great Families again concurred with the Meaſures of the Crown, in hopes of Vice-royalties, and other valuable Offices in its Conqueſts: but if ever their Schemes were beneficial to their Families, which may admit of Doubt, certain it is that they contributed

buted more and more to the Ruin of the *Spaniſh* Nation. For, though his Catholick Majeſty once poſſeſſed *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Milan*, with other Territories in *Italy*, beſides all the Low Countries, and ſome other Provinces which are now loſt; yet, for want of attending to Commerce, and by having no ſort of Oeconomy, all this turned to his Prejudice; and it plainly appeared towards the Cloſe of the laſt Century, that with all their boaſted Sagacity and Firmneſs, the *Spaniards* had ruined themſelves by acquiring too great Power, and rendered themſelves Beggars by miſuſing their immenſe Riches. With ſwelling Titles and wide Dominions, they were deſpicably weak, and ſcarce any but Copper Money was to be ſeen in a Country, which received above twenty Millions annually from its Plantations.

Before I quit this Topick, I muſt take Notice of another Thing, which is certainly very extraordinary. This wrong Turn in the *Spaniſh* Policy had a wonderful Effect; it made all the Enemies of that Nation rich, and all its Friends poor. Every body knows that the United Provinces not only made themſelves free and independent, but rich and powerful alſo, by their long War with *Spain*. Our Maritime Power was owing to the ſame Cauſe. If *Philip* II. had not diſturbed Queen *Elizabeth*, our Fleet might have been as inconſiderable at the Cloſe of her Reign as it was

was at the Beginning, when we were peſtered with Pirates even in the narrow Seas. Our Plantations abroad were in a great meaſure owing to Expeditions againſt the *Spaniard*. Our Manufactures at home were the Conſequence of affording Refuge to the King of *Spain*'s Proteſtant Subjects. When Queen *Elizabeth*'s Succeſſor cloſed with *Spain*, he ſuffered by it, while *France*, the only Country then at War with *Spain*, was a Gainer. I ſay nothing of *Cromwell*'s Breach with *Spain*, and the Advantages he drew from it, becauſe the World ſeems well enough apprized of all I could ſay on that Subject already; but I cannot help obſerving, that both the *Dutch* and We were at vaſt Expences after the Reſtoration, to preſerve the *Spaniſh Flanders*, while the *Spaniards* themſelves were inactive, and left all to be done by their Allies. As ſoon as the Tables were turned, by the Acceſſion of King *Philip* V. the *French* became great Loſers by ſiding with this Nation, though they had always got by fighting againſt them, inſomuch that all the true Patriots in *France* complained, that while *Lewis* the Fourteenth ſhewed himſelf an excellent Parent in his Family, he diſcharg'd but indifferently his Truſt, as the Father of his People. But to what End ſhould I look abroad, when it is plain from our own Situation, that we were never Friends with her, but at our Coſt, and never Foes but at her's.

By

By ſo long a Series of Miſmanagement the *Spaniards* have brought their Affairs into ſo wretched a Situation, that they neither have, nor can have any very great Benefit from their vaſt Dominions in *America.* They are ſaid to be Stewards for the reſt of *Europe*; their Galleons bring the Silver into *Spain*, but neither Wiſdom nor Power can keep it there; it runs out as faſt as it comes in, nay, and faſter; inſomuch that the little Canton of *Bern* is really richer, and has more Credit, than the King of *Spain*, notwithſtanding his *Indies.* At firſt Sight this ſeems to be ſtrange and incredible; but when we come to examine it, the Myſtery is by no means impenetrable. The Silver and rich Commodities which come from the *Indies* come not for nothing (the King's Duties excepted) and very little of the Goods or Manufactures for which they come, belong to the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain.* It is evident, therefore, that the *Spaniſh* Merchants are but Factors, and that the greateſt Part of the Returns from the *Weſt Indies* belong to thoſe for whom they negotiate. Let us next enquire who they are, and what their Shares may be.

The Goods and Manufactures uſually ſent to the Provinces of the *Spaniſh America*, are Gold and Silver Stuffs, Silks of all Sorts, as well Stockings and Gloves, as Piece Goods; Woollen Manufactures of all Kinds, Linens, Laces

Laces and Thread, Hats, and all other Manufactures of Felt; Spices, Drugs, Colours for Painters, Materials for Dying; all Sorts of Perfumes, Green and White Wax, Haberdaſhers Ware, Toys of all Kinds, Copper, Braſs, and Iron Goods, *Ruſſia* and other Kinds of dreſſed Leather; Paper for Writing, Printing, and Packing; Playing Cards, Maſts, Rigging, Pitch, Tar, Cordage, *&c.* Pipe Staves, Veſſels for Wine, Oil, and other Liquors; and almoſt all Sorts of Domeſtick Utenſils; with various Kinds of Proviſion. Beſides, the *Spaniſh* Settlements muſt be ſupplied with Negroes, which is a prodigious Article. Our *South Sea* Company ſtipulated to furniſh at leaſt four thouſand eight hundred every Year. It is plain that of all theſe Articles the *Spaniards* themſelves can furniſh little or nothing. It is true, they may ſend Wines, Oils, Olives, and ſome ſort of Sweetmeats, which are liked in the *Indies*; but then the Value of theſe Commodities is inconſiderable, when compared with the reſt of the Cargoes which they ſend out. The prime Coſt of theſe Goods amounts to a vaſt Sum, and the Profits upon them to a greater. The very Probity of the *Spaniſh* Merchants is deſtructive to their Country; for, as they are never known to betray their Truſt, conſequently the Foreigners who make uſe of their Names to cover their Commerce in the *Indies*, reap the intire Advantage of the high Price at which their

their Goods ſell. All then that reſts in *Spain* is the Silver and Gold on the King's Account, the Profit upon ſuch Goods as were actually ſent by *Spaniſh* Merchants, and the Commiſſions which *Spaniſh* Factors receive; all beſides is preſently drawn away.

The *French*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and ſome other Nations in the North, ſupply the *Spaniards* with the neceſſary Aſſortments for their *Weſt India* Cargoes: we ſhall ſay ſomething of what is furniſhed by each. The *French*, ſince the Succeſſion of King *Philip*, have a very large Share in this Commerce, ſupplying all ſorts of Gold and Silver Stuffs, rich Silks, Velvets, flower'd and plain; Hats, Silk and Worſted Stockings, Slight Woollen Stuffs of the Fabrick of *Amiens* and *Reims*; but chiefly of *Lile* and *Arras*; vaſt Quantities of Linen, Paper, Cards, Toys, and many other Things. It is impoſſible to gueſs nearly at the Value of what they furniſh; but we may form ſome ſort of Idea of it, from the Article of Linens, which a Perſon, well acquainted with their Trade, computed at three hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling at leaſt. During the laſt general War, almoſt the Whole of this Commerce was in the Hands of the *French*, which in a great meaſure enabled them to ſupport it. They managed it however very injudiciouſly, glutting the Markets with *European* Commodities to ſuch a Degree, that for three or four Years

Years before the Peace they were Loſers. Experience, however, has made them wiſer ſince; and if we eſtimate their Gains at three Millions, it cannot be thought too much.

The *Dutch*, for about twenty Years before the breaking out of the laſt War, managed the beſt Part of the *Spaniſh* Trade, that is to ſay, they ſupplied alone what is now furniſhed both by them and the *French*. They have ſtill, however, at leaſt as great a Share as any other Nation, and ſome think a better. The Commodities they ſend are Spices, ſuch as Nutmegs, Cloves, and eſpecially Cinnamon, of which vaſt Quantities are uſed in making Chocolate in *America*. Linens of all Sorts, Callicoes, Ribbands, Silk Twiſt, Cloths, Serges, Camblets, Shalloons, Slight Silks, *German* Toys, Hemp, Tar, Pitch, Copper, and Iron Ware, dried Fiſh, *&c.* Linen and Woollen, however, are the two great Articles, the latter eſpecially, contrary to the common Opinion, at leaſt in this Country, where it is ſuppoſed, that our moſt formidable Enemies in this Trade are the *French*. It is, however, a thing pretty certain, that our Goods are ſuperior in Value to the *Dutch* Manufactures; but the Traders of this Country afford better Pennyworths, and have beſides an Art of ſcruing themſelves into the Confidence of the *Spaniards*, beyond what other People can pretend to, inſomuch, that ſince the Peace of *Utrecht*, they have in

ſome

ſome meaſure beat out the *French* even in Gold and Silver Lace; though theſe have always been eſteemed the prime *French* Manufactures. On the whole, the beſt Judges are of Opinion, that the *Dutch* draw annually out of the Effects imported from the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, at leaſt five Millions of Pieces of Eight; and when *Spain* is at War with us, much more.

The Goods ſupplied by the *Engliſh* are Pepper, all ſorts of Woollen Goods, eſpecially Bays, Perpetuanas, Flannels, *&c.* Hats of all Sorts, fine and coarſe, Silk and Worſted Stockings, ſeveral Sorts of rich Silks; Copper, Braſs, and Iron Ware; Toys, Clocks, Watches in vaſt Quantities, dried Fiſh, Salt Proviſions from *Ireland*; with other leſs conſiderable Articles, which, taken altogether, amount to a vaſt Sum, beſides what was annually ſent directly to the *Indies* in the *South Sea* Ship, and the Negroe Trade, which is of mighty Conſequence. To balance this, it muſt be allowed that we took a large Quantity of their Produce; yet the Balance in our Favour is generally eſteemed to have been between four and five Millions. Add to this, what the *Spaniards* receive from other Parts of *Europe*; and it may well be reckoned at two Millions more: ſo that in the whole not leſs than fifteen Millions in every ſuch Cargo from *America* may be reckoned to belong to Strangers, on account of their Intereſt

Intereſt in the Goods exported thither. But, beſides all this, we muſt conſider that *Spain* itſelf hath great Wants, much beyond what its native Commodities will purchaſe; and theſe muſt of conſequence create farther Demands on the Effects brought from the *Weſt Indies:* ſo that on the whole there are good Grounds to ſuppoſe that between twenty and twenty-five Millions are conſtantly taken either in Money or Effects, out of what the *Spaniards* receive, which clearly explains the Intereſt that other Nations have in preſerving to her all that ſhe poſſeſſes in the new World.

As long as the Court of *Spain* perſiſts in this Kind of Policy, her Affairs muſt grow worſe and worſe; and while ſhe vainly fancies that ſhe aggrandizes herſelf by diſturbing the Peace of *Europe*, ſhe will abſolutely beggar her Subjects, and, in the Courſe of a few Years, will be obliged to abandon, through Poverty, the Places ſhe undoes herſelf to conquer. We may poſſibly be miſtaken in the foregoing Computations; but, if we are, it is very probably on the Right Side; but ſuppoſe it otherwiſe; ſuppoſe that 15 Millions of Pieces of Eight reſt in that Country after all Accounts are balanced. Out of theſe, the Civil and Military Expences of the Government are to be paid, large Sums to be ſent *Don Carlos*, and abundance of coſtly Intrigues to be carried on in *Germany* and other Places. Theſe Expences, and indeed all Expences in *Spain*,

*Spain*, differ from the Expences of any other Court in *Europe*, becauſe ſooner or later the greateſt Part of the Money diſburſed goes out of the Kingdom. A great Part of their Troops, and at leaſt a Moiety of their Officers, are Foreigners, who ſend their Effects away, if ever they are ſo happy as to have any. The greateſt Part of the Artizans, Pedlars, and ſmall Shop-keepers, are *Frenchmen* or *Italians*, who either retire in the Decline of Life, or leave what they are worth to Relations in their own Country. Nay, the very Labourers and Harveſt-People come thither annually by thouſands out of the Provinces of *France* next to *Spain*; and when they have done their Buſineſs, and received their Wages, go home again till the next Year. Whenever the Galleons are ſtopt, and thereby the Supplies from *America* cut off for one or more Years, it is eaſy to diſcern what Troubles and Diſtreſſes this muſt occaſion, and what irremediable Evils ſuch Diſappointments bring along with them; for, as theſe never fall out but in time of War, an Increaſe of Expence meets with a Deficiency of Funds, and thoſe who are at the Head of Affairs have at once both theſe oppoſite Miſchiefs to deal with.

When theſe Things are thoroughly conſidered, no body can wonder at the Advices we receive from *Spain*, or conceive what is related in them to be incredible. Under ſuch a

Government the meaner People muſt neceſſarily want Bread, the better Sort ſcarce have more in their Power, Money will be very ſeldom ſeen, the Publick muſt be always diſtreſſed, and equally in Want of Caſh and of Credit. It is impoſſible then that a *Britiſh* Adminiſtration ſhould be at all afraid of ſuch a deſpicable Enemy; nay, if *France* ſhould, in her preſent Circumſtances, join with her, the War muſt be fatal to both; we may command the Trade, and conſequently the Wealth of the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies:* and whoever attentively weighs this, will certainly fall into my Sentiments, that how loud ſoever the *French* may bark, they will never attempt to bite, for fear of beating out their Teeth.

## CHAP. III.

### *Of the Contraband Trade carried on by the* Spaniards *in the* Weſt Indies.

THE Methods taken by his moſt Catholick Majeſty for effectually ſecuring the Commerce of his *American* Dominions to the Inhabitants of *Old Spain*, is the grand Source of the little Reſpect paid him in the *Indies*, and of the great Weakneſs of his Government at home. The Inhabitants of the *Spaniſh America* conſider Gold and Silver as Commodities, which they have, and would willingly

willingly barter for ſome other Commodities, which they have not, and which would be more uſeful to them than large Heaps of either of thoſe Metals. It ſeems therefore to theſe People a great Hardſhip, that either proper Care is not taken to furniſh them with what they want from *Spain*, or that they ſhould not be allowed to ſupply themſelves ſome other Way. The Native *Spaniards*, who have the Government of the *Indies* intirely in their Hands, treat ſuch Complaints with the Haughtineſs natural to that Nation, which renders them univerſally odious and inſupportable. Men, whatever Climates they dwell in, of whatſoever Complexions they be, have the ſame Inclinations, and the ſame Reſentments, if once you treſpaſs on their natural Rights; and this all Governors ought to conſider, becauſe both their Glory, and their Safety depend upon it. Yet ſo little is this a *Spaniſh* Viceroy's Concern, that Sir *John Narborrough* tells us the Soldiers in Garriſon at *Baldivia* had Silver hilted Swords, and their Officers Gold ones; and yet there was not a whole Coat, or a good Pair of Shoes amongſt the Corps.

When Folks are in ſuch a Situation, there needs be no Wonder at their endeavouring to carry on a clandeſtine Trade, as, on the other hand, one cannot think it ſtrange that their Neighbours, who live under better Governments, who have at cheap Rates all that theſe

*Spaniards* want, and yet ſtand in need of the Silver and Gold with which they abound, ſhould be very willing to commence ſuch an Intercourſe as might take away all their Wants. Sometimes Governors have winked at this, not from a Principle of Avarice only, that they might ſhare in the Profits reſulting from ſuch a Trade, but alſo from a Senſe of the Neceſſity of diſpenſing with Laws ſo ill executed as to deſerve no Reſpect. For, to be ſure, that Rule of Juſtice, which connects the *Spaniſh* Plantations to *Spain*, requires that the Government of *Spain* ſhould have a reciprocal Regard for thoſe Plantations; and a Neglect on one Part infers a Licence on the other. Upon this Principle it was, that before the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and the *Aſſiento* Contract, the *Engliſh* at *Jamaica* furniſhed the *Spaniards* at *Porto Bello* with Negroes, with the Knowledge at leaſt, if not by the Permiſſion of the Governors. The Inhabitants of *Peru* never could be without Slaves. The Government of *Old Spain* never could, indeed never attempted to ſupply them, but permitted ſometimes the *Genoeſe*, ſometimes the *French* to carry on this Trade; and when they did not do it effectually, the Deficiency was made good by ſuch a Commerce as I before mentioned with the *Engliſh*, though without any formal Licence, but by a Connivance, the leſs criminal for its being abſolutely neceſſary.

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The Situation of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, together with the Conveniencies of building and freighting Sloops from thence, engaged the Inhabitants in this, and in other Branches of Traffick. Such as ſettle themſelves in theſe diſtant Parts of the World, do it generally from a Spirit of getting, and therefore the grand Point with them is always how to get moſt. They therefore for a long Tract of Time, and by various Methods, not neceſſary to be inſiſted on here, ſupplied the *Spaniards* at *Carthagena*, *Porto Bello*, *Rio de la Hacha*, and other Places with *European* Commodities of all Sorts, notwithſtanding the mighty Hazard they ran in the Management of ſo dangerous a Buſineſs, their own Lives, and thoſe of their Cuſtomers, being alike expoſed, and frequently forfeited to what the *Spaniards* call Juſtice. They likewiſe carried on a Trade with the *Indians* of *Darien*, to their great Profit, but with equal Riſque, for the *Spaniards* were wont to ſhew no Mercy either to *Engliſh* or *Indians* that fell into their Hands; which is ſo much the harder, ſince the latter never were their Subjects, nor ever will have any Intercourſe with them. By degrees the Gains by this Commerce tempted ſo many Perſons to be concerned in it, and the Ships made uſe of were ſo well manned, and of ſuch Force, that the *Spaniards* grew leſs timorous than formerly; ſo that at laſt the Commerce by the Galleons

was greatly affected; for, knowing where to buy Goods cheaper, the Merchants would not give the Prices uſually demanded at the Fairs of *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello:* and this, as I have ſaid, gave Riſe to the Guarda Coſtas. Some, however, who pretend to be well acquainted with theſe Parts of the World, ſay poſitively, that this clandeſtine Trade was carried on in ſpite of thoſe Ships, and even by the Connivance of the Governors, who, while they made Prize of fair Traders, protected Smugglers: If ſo, their Proceedings were indeed extremely flagrant; nor is it altogether incredible, Thirſt of Money being the predominant Paſſion in all *Spaniſh* Officers.

It ſeems, however, to be our Intereſt to put an End to this contraband Trade, if thereby we could ſecure effectually the Friendſhip of *Spain*, and a due Return of Kindneſs in what regards the Trade of *Cadiz*, and of the *South Sea* Company. There is a certain Proportion of our Goods and Manufactures neceſſary to the Inhabitants of the *Spaniſh America*, and which they will have ſome Way or other. Now it is certainly preferable in reſpect to us, that they ſhould have them in a fair, than in a clandeſtine Manner; yet we ought not to be more tied up in this Reſpect than the *Dutch*, who have as flouriſhng a fair Trade with *Spain* as we, and yet are much the greater Smugglers of the

the two; which leads us to ſpeak of their Manner of carrying on this Trade, which turns ſo largely to their Profit.

The *Hollanders*, in 1632, diſpoſſeſſed the *Spaniards* of three little Iſlands off the Coaſt of *Venezuela*, viz. *Curaçao*, *Bonnairy*, and *Aruba*. Altogether they are of very little Conſequence in reſpect either to their Extent or their Product, and yet the *Dutch* draw from them an immenſe Profit. *Curaçao* is the neareſt to the Continent, and therefore well fortified, and thoroughly peopled, tho' its Soil does not afford ſo much as will ſubſiſt its Inhabitants for one Day; but they are conſtantly furniſhed with Proviſions from the other two Iſlands, which in truth are good for little elſe. As this Iſland is not above ſeven Leagues diſtant from the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, a more convenient Station cannot be wiſhed for carrying on a clandeſtine Trade. It was firſt introduced by the Sale of Negroes brought thither by the *Dutch* from their numerous Settlements on the Coaſt of *Guinea*. Theſe the *Spaniards* formerly bought in a Manner openly, and have tranſported in their own Veſſels fifteen hundred at a Time; but ſince the *Engliſh* from *Jamaica* have interfered in this Trade, it is ſunk very conſiderably; tho' they ſtill ſupply the neighbouring Provinces, and reap a great Profit thereby, becauſe no body underſtands the Management of this Buſineſs better than they do, can bring Slaves at a

cheaper Rate, or vend them at a higher Price. Some Writers have aſſerted, that in its moſt flouriſhing Condition the Slave-trade alone drew from the *Spaniards* a Million of Pieces of Eight *per Annum.*

The Dealers at *Curaçao*, and their Correſpondents in *Holland*, were too knowing, too converſant in Buſineſs to let the Declenſion of the Slave-trade rob them of the Benefit of this Iſland. In order to replace what was loſt by the *Engliſh* interfering with them, they built vaſt Magazines, and ſtored them with all Sorts of *European* Goods, which had a very good Effect. In the firſt Place it preſerved to them the Remainder of their Slave-Trade; for the *Spaniards* knowing that this of all others was moſt winked at by their Governors, reſolved to keep up a Pretence of buying Slaves, in order to have an Opportunity of purchaſing other Things. Secondly, it tempted the *Spaniards* to run all Hazards, that they might, at a reaſonable Price, obtain any Sort of *European* Merchandize they wanted, and that too whenever they pleaſed. It is incredible what vaſt Sums have been annually traded for in this Way. Beſides, the Inhabitants of *Caraçao*, to keep up a good Correſpondence with their Neighbours, and, as far as poſſible to fix their Affections, refuſed to ſuffer any Privateers to enter their Ports, nor would upon any Terms purchaſe their Plunder, which at the ſame time was publickly

lickly ſold in *Jamaica*, where the Privateers uſually ſpent their Money. This Spirit of Self-Denial, however, did not hinder the Traders of *Curaçao* from directing the Privateers to put into the Iſland of *St. Thomas*, whither they inſtantly ſent Sloops with Money and Agents on board them to purchaſe what the Privateers had to ſell, taking Care to ſend the Effects as ſoon as poſſible to *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* might have no Intelligence of this Contrivance.

It has been before obſerved, that in reſpect to this clandeſtine Commerce it was chiefly carried on by the *Spaniards* themſelves, who ran all Hazards, came in Perſon to the Iſland, and carried away whatever they bought in their own Ships. In Proceſs of time, however, ſome Merchants deviſed another Way of carrying on the ſame kind of Commerce, by Ships ſent directly from *Europe* on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts. Theſe Veſſels were of ſuch Force, that thoſe on board them ſtood in no Fear of any Precautions the Governors could take; and, on the other hand, as their Cargoes paſſed immediately from their original Owners to the *Spaniards*, they could be afforded conſiderably cheaper than ſuch as were conſigned to Factors in *America*. The Method of trading was by a Signal from the Ships, or from the Shore. The Long-Boat was then ſent off well manned, brought the Merchants on board with their Money, and carried

carried them back with their Goods. The Reader has been already told, with what Obſtinacy one of theſe Ships was defended againſt two Guarda Coſtas, and to ſay the Truth, thoſe on board them chuſe rather to ſink than be taken; a very extraordinary kind of Courage; for which, however, it is not impoſſible to account; and as it may be uſeful as well as pleaſant, I think it not amiſs to enter into the Particulars thereof.

At the Time one of theſe Ships is fitting out, Notice is given to all Sailors, that they may have an Opportunity of entering, which they do with great Alacrity, there being, generally ſpeaking, twice as many who offer themſelves as can be made uſe of. When the Proprietors have their Compliment of picked Seamen, they not only allow every Man his proper Cargo, to a certain Value, but alſo furniſh it themſelves on Credit at prime Coſt. By this means every private Man on board becomes a Proprietor, and, if the Ship is attacked, fights for his own Property, which is the Reaſon that he will drown rather than part with it, and is one Cauſe why Guarda Coſtas are not over fond of meeting with theſe Veſſels, but chooſe rather to prey on fair Traders, who have fewer Men, and are of leſs Force. The Scheme I have mentioned is certainly a right one, though in a wrong Cauſe. The only Way to ſupport the Spirits, and fix the Affections of ordinary People,

People, is to conſult their Intereſt; and thoſe who imagine that Juſtice, Honour, or any thing elſe will anſwer the ſame End, without a due Regard to this, muſt not expect much Pity when they find their Miſtake. So true in all Senſes is that divine Maxim, *That the Children of this World are wiſer in their Generation than the Children of Light.*

But to return once more to our Subject.

The little Iſland of *St. Thomas*, which lies in the *North Seas*, about fourteen Leagues off *Porto Rico*, is the ſole Colony poſſeſſed by the *Danes* in the *Weſt Indies*; nor would it be worth the keeping, but as it ſerves to maintain an illicit Trade with the *Spaniſh* Iſlands in its Neighbourhood. We may form ſome Idea of the vaſt Advantages flowing from this contraband Commerce, from this very Particular, eſpecially if we conſider that the *Hamburghers* have likewiſe a Factory in this little Iſle purely on the ſame Score. In order to maintain this Correſpondence, they tranſport from the *Daniſh* Colonies in *Africa* a conſiderable Number of Slaves for the Supply of *Porto Rico*, and ſometimes of the *Spaniſh* Part of the Iſland of *St. Domingo*. Under Colour of this Trade, a Commerce in *European* Goods is carried on; and we may eaſily diſcern how hard the *Spaniards* are put to it for the Neceſſaries, or at leaſt the Conveniencies of Life, when we find them trading to a Place which is a free Port to

Privateers

Privateers and Pirates of all Nations, who there vend openly, and in the very Sight of the *Spaniards*, what they have taken from them in the baſeſt and moſt barbarous Manner poſſible; and yet ſo tame are they, that they not only bear this with Patience, but will even purchaſe Commodities from theſe very Buccaneers. Of late Years other Nations have made an Advantage of this free Port, and keep Warehouſes there of all ſorts of Commodities, for the Service of ſuch Cuſtomers as will run the Hazard of coming at them; and in time of War the Privateers never want a Market in this Place.

The *Portugueze* at *Rio Janeiro* entertain alſo a very beneficial Correſpondence with their *Spaniſh* Neighbours. The Goods with which they ſupply them, are Sugars, Indigo, Tobacco, Wines, Brandies, and Rums, with ſome *European* Goods, and ſometimes Slaves. The Inhabitants of this Colony are far more induſtrious than the reſt of the *Brazil* Planters; and this gives them an Opportunity of gaining conſiderably by the Inhabitants of *Buenos Ayres*, and other Places on the *River of Plate*. Of late Years the *Spaniards* are grown exceſſively jealous of this Colony, and, when the late Diſputes happened between the Crowns of *Portugal* and *Spain*, both Parties were preparing to have acted vigorouſly on this Side, and nothing could have hindered them but their mutual Apprehenſions

henſions of becoming thereby a more eaſy Prey to Strangers. They are the more jealous of this, becauſe conſcious of their own Weakneſs; and yet one may ſafely ſay they are more ſuſpicious than they need; and this for ſeveral Reaſons. For, firſt, few foreign States have either an exact Information of the State and Importance of theſe Colonies, or any Diſpoſition to make Diſcoveries or Conqueſts at ſuch a Diſtance. Secondly, The Thing itſelf is not ſo eaſy as themſelves believe it; for Strangers, when they land on theſe Coaſts, may well enough take and burn Towns; but they would find it extremely difficult to keep them, as well on Account of their Want of Experience, as of their being ſubject to epidemical Diſtempers, which carry them off ſuddenly in great Numbers. Thirdly, The Weakneſs of the *Spaniards* is, properly ſpeaking, the Weakneſs of their Government. There wants not People, there wants not a Capacity of Defence, if the Governors, and other Royal Officers, were not wanting in their Duty, and did not thereby ſet ſo ill an Example as corrupts and effeminates all who are ſubject to them.

Beſides theſe Methods of trading, which we have hitherto ſpoken of, there is another common to all Nations; with the Mention of which we ſhall conclude. Ships frequently approach the *Spaniſh* Coaſts under Pretence of wanting Water, Wood, Proviſions,

or

or more commonly, in order to ſtop a Leak. The firſt Thing that is done in ſuch a Caſe, is to give Notice to the Governor of their great Diſtreſs, and, as a full Proof thereof, to ſend a very conſiderable Preſent. By this Means Leave is obtained to come on Shore, to erect a Warehouſe, and to unlade the Ship; but then all this is performed under the Eye of the King's Officers, and the Goods are regularly enter'd in a Regiſter as they are brought into the Warehouſe, which when full is ſhut up, and the Doors ſealed. All theſe Precautions taken, the Buſineſs is effectually carried on in the Night by a Back-door, and the *European* Goods being taken out, Indigo, Cochineal, Vinellos, Tobacco, and above all Bars of Silver and Pieces of Eight are very exactly packed in the ſame Caſes, and placed as they ſtood before. But then, that ſuch as have bought may be able to ſell publickly, a new Scheme takes Place. A Petition is preſented to the Governor, ſetting forth the Stranger's Want of Money to pay for Proviſions, building the Warehouſe, Timber for repairing the Ship, and a proportionable Number of ſuch like Items; in Conſideration of all which, Leave is deſired to diſpoſe of ſome ſmall Part of their Cargo, in order to diſcharge theſe Debts. This being obtained in the uſual Manner, ſomething of each ſort of Goods which had been privately ſold, is now publickly brought to Market, and purchaſed

purchaſed by thoſe Perſons reſpectively who had larger Quantities in their Warehouſes before. Thus the whole of this Scene of Iniquity is tranſacted with all the formal Solemnity which could attend an Act of Juſtice and Compaſſion.

We have now accompliſhed all that we intended in this Work; and, if in treating ſo many Things in ſo conciſe a Manner, we have been guilty of any Omiſſions or Miſtakes, they are ſubmitted to the Cenſure of the Reader, who, it is to be hoped, will be the leſs ſevere, when he reflects on the Difficulty of the Task, and on the great Variety of curious and entertaining Particulars which are here drawn together. It would have been eaſy to have extended this Performance to a much greater Length, but as the ſaving Time and Expence to the Peruſer was next to the giving him a juſt Idea of the Subject, our principal Aim, we flatter ourſelves that ſmall Imperfections will not deprive us of that Reward, which is deareſt of all other to honeſt Men, the Approbation of the Publick.

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# THE APPENDIX.

THE following Memoir ſeemed to me ſo curious in itſelf, and to have ſo near a Relation to the Subject of this Book, that I thought there could be nothing more agreeable to the Reader, or more conſonant to my Deſign of giving a full Account of the *Spaniſh* Settlements in the *Weſt Indies*, than the adding it by Way of Supplement to this Work. The Author of it was a *French* Officer, who, in the Year 1708, was wrecked in the Entrance of the *River of Plate*, and who remained for ſome time in the Country which he deſcribes. He drew up this Memoir at the Inſtance of a *French* Stateſman, who intended to have tranſmitted it to the Court of *Spain*, but dying ſoon after, this, with ſome other Papers relative to the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, came into private Hands, which is the Reaſon that many Copies of it are extant, not only in *France*, but here, and in *Holland*.

* A. S. E. M. L. C. D. B.

## MEMOIR *concerning the Settlements of the Jeſuits in* Paraguay.

IT is a Liberty generally taken by, as well as aſcribed to Travellers, that they paint pretty ſtrongly, and take a Pleaſure in repreſenting Things a little beyond the Truth, as if thereby they meant to indemnify themſelves for the Dangers run, and the Fatigues by them endured. It is very probable that I might have fallen into this Error myſelf, if I had written for the View of the Publick; but, addreſſing myſelf to a Perſon of ſo illuſtrious a Rank, and at the ſame time of ſuch diſtinguiſhed Abilities, I ſhall be very careful to advance nothing, of the Truth of which I am not thoroughly convinc'd; neither ſhall I preſume to add any Reflections, but content myſelf with barely ſtating Matters of Fact with as great Exactneſs as I am able; being thoroughly, ſenſible that you want to be informed as to ſuch Things only as you have not ſeen, without needing any Helps in diſcovering the Lights that may be drawn from them.

It has been the Misfortune of the Chriſtian Church in *America* for this laſt Century, and

* Addreſs in the Original.

perhaps longer, that except the Jeſuits, nei-Prieſts nor Monks have taken any Pains either to convert the *Indians* by their preaching, or to influence them by the Regularity of their Conduct. The natural Conſequence of this hath been, the throwing intirely into the Hands of the *Jeſuits* an Affair of the laſt Importance, *viz.* the propagating the Faith amongſt the *Indians*, for which it muſt be allowed, that they have ſhewn themſelves extremely well qualified; of which more convincing Evidence cannot be had, than the Progreſs they have made in theſe their Miſſions. This of *Paraguay*, concerning which I have undertaken to write, is by far the moſt conſiderable, and, if attentively conſidered, will appear almoſt as remarkable an Event as *Pizarro*'s Conqueſt of *Peru*, or *Mendoza*'s ſubduing *Chili*.

The Country, under the Government of the Fathers, lies about two hundred Leagues South of *Brazil*, about the ſame Diſtance from the Province of *Buenos Ayres*, one hundred and fourſcore Leagues from *Tucuman*, and about a hundred Leagues from the Province of *Paraguay*. The Country, which is of vaſt Extent, is as pleaſant and as fruitful as can be deſired, watered with Variety of Rivers, and pleaſant Streams, abounding with Timber and with Fruit-Trees, producing Abundance of Cotton, Indigo, Sugar, Pimento, Ipecacuana, and other Drugs of great Value.

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The Plains are full of Horſes, Mules, black Cattle, and Herds of Sheep; the Mountains contain vaſt Treaſures of Gold and Silver; of which, however, the Fathers ſeem to have no Deſire, ſince, for ought the World knows, not one of theſe Mines hath ever been open'd or wrought.

Originally ſome forty or fifty Families of *Indians* having ſhewn a Propenſity to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, ſome Jeſuits went amongſt them, accompliſhed that deſirable Work, and the Peace and Happineſs in which theſe People lived after their Converſion, had ſuch an Effect upon their Neighbours, that by degrees the Miſſion ſpread, till it attained its preſent Extent, which comprehends at leaſt three hundred thouſand Families, who are in all Things ſubject to the Fathers, and who revere them as much as it is poſſible to reverence Mortals.

Theſe *Indians* are divided into forty-two Pariſhes, all on the Banks of the River *Paraguay*, and none above ten Leagues Diſtance from another. In each Pariſh there is a Jeſuit, who is ſupreme in all Cauſes, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtick, and from whoſe Deciſion there lies no Appeal. By him their Caciques, or chief Officers, are nominated, as alſo are the inferior ones; and even their military Commanders receive their Orders from him. Nothing can be better contrived than the Regulations under which they live;

every Family hath its Proportion of Land and Labour, of Plenty and of Reſt. Induſtry is common to all, yet Wealth is attained by none; the Product of their Harveſt is carried into the Magazines of the Society, whence the Fathers diſpenſe whatever to them appears neceſſary, to every Family according to its Degree. The Surplus, which muſt be very conſiderable, the moſt judicious *Spaniards* at *Buenos Ayres* conceive it little ſhort of four Millions of Pieces of Eight *per Annum*, is ſent either to *Cordova*, or *Santa Fé*, there being at each Place a Procurator-General, who takes Care of what belongs to the Society, and, as Occaſion offers, tranſports their Wealth into *Europe*.

It is impoſſible to imagine any thing in the *Indies* more regular or more magnificent than their Pariſh-Churches. They are capacious, well built, and moſt magnificently furniſhed; Gilding and Paintings ſtrike the Eye on every Side, and all the ſacred Utenſils are Gold and Silver; nay, in many of them they are adorned with Emeralds and other precious Stones. Divine Service is celebrated with the moſt ſolemn Splendor. On one Side of the high Altar are Tribunes for the Civil Magiſtrates, on the other Side are like Conveniencies for military Officers: as to the Father himſelf, his Buſineſs is to officiate, which he does twice a-Day with the utmoſt Gravity. Their Muſick, both Vocal and Inſtrumental,

ſtrumental, is far from being contemptible; the People having naturally a Genius for that Science, which the Fathers have taken care to cultivate.

The Dwelling, or rather Palace of this ſpiritual Prince, is like the Church, a thing extremely grand for the Country in which we find it. It conſiſts of various Apartments, ſuited to the various Functions performed by its Maſter. In the Morning, after having performed his private Devotions, he gives Audience to ſuch as have any publick Buſineſs with him. About Noon he hears Confeſſions, in which he is very exact, that being the principal Pillar on which his Sovereignty reſts. In the Afternoon he walks abroad, gives Directions, inſpects the publick and private Affairs of his Pariſh; in the Evening he catechiſes, explains the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, and diſcourſes on moral Subjects to ſuch as attend him, by Rotation. In ſome Part of his Conduct he is extremely modeſt and praiſe-worthy, in others not a little lofty and aſſuming. To the firſt I refer his ſimple manner of Living, faring coarſely, ſleeping moderately, and uſing few or no Diverſions, if we except ſuch Recreations as he allows to his People, and eſpecially to the Youth. I am led to accuſe him of the latter by obſerving the mighty Diſtance at which he keeps his People, cauſing even their Magiſtrates to be corrected before him with Stripes,

and

and allowing the beſt Man in the Pariſh to kiſs his Sleeve, as the very higheſt Honour he is ever to hope for. I might add, deſtroying all Notions of Property; for, except the Father himſelf, there is no body poſſeſſes any thing which he can call his own, nor dares he ſo much as to kill a Duck or a Chicken who has bred them in his Yard.

There is an annual Meeting of all the Fathers, who then confer on the Methods neceſſary to be taken for promoting the common Concerns of the Miſſion, for making new Laws, or aboliſhing old ones, as the Neceſſity of Affairs may require. This is the ſupreme Council, over which, for ought that appears, neither his Catholick Majeſty nor the Pope himſelf has any Power. The firſt they have perſuaded, that all Intercourſe between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards* is dangerous to the Salvation of the former, and on this Pretence have obtained a Prohibition to the latter. As for the Holy Father, he is either ſo thoroughly ſatisfied with the Conduct of the Jeſuits, or is elſe ſo little acquainted with it, that he never interferes therewith, but leaves all Things to be guided by the Order. To this Council, or Congregation, the Caciques are accountable, and from them they receive ſuch Orders as concern the Miſſion in general; whereas, in Matters relating to their particular Pariſhes, they are intirely directed by the preſiding Prieſt. One great Point

Point under Conſideration at each of theſe Aſſemblies, is preventing Strangers from having any Intelligence of the State of the Miſſion; another, the reſtraining the *Indians* from learning the *Spaniſh* Tongue, or applying themſelves to any Studies, ſave ſuch as may render them ſerviceable to the Society; amongſt which they reckon Architecture, Painting, and Muſick; all which they are taught in every Pariſh.

The Military Eſtabliſhment is very conſiderable; each Pariſh hath a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot, exerciſed duly, as the *Swiſs* are, every *Sunday* Evening. Theſe Troops are divided into Regiments, conſiſting each of ſix Companies, and every Company of fifty Men. The Regiments of Cavalry conſiſt of the ſame Number of Troops, that is, of ſix; but every Troop contains but forty Men. Theſe Regiments are regularly officer'd, and the whole Eſtabliſhment is ſaid to conſiſt of about ſixty thouſand Men, under the Command of ſeveral general Officers; but whenever any Body of theſe Forces takes the Field, one of the Holy Fathers always commands in chief; for it is a Maxim which they never depart from, not to permit their *Indians* either in Peace or in War, to acknowledge any Authority but their own. This *Indian* Army is ſurprizingly well diſciplin'd, and know not only how to handle their Muſket and Bayonet, like *European* Troops; but

alſo

alſo how to uſe their Slings, out of which they throw Stones or Bullets of between four and five Pound Weight with prodigious Force and wonderful Dexterity. Theſe Forces, the Fathers pretend, are kept up to ſecure their Subjects againſt the *Portugueze*, who were formerly wont to make Inroads upon them; but there is another Uſe the Fathers make of their Troops, which ſeems to be at leaſt as much their Concern, and that is, ſcowering the Country, to prevent either *Spaniards* or Strangers from coming privately into the Quarters of the Miſſion.

If, in ſpite of all theſe Precautions, a Stranger inſinuates himſelf into their Territories, the Father, into whoſe Pariſh he happens to come, ſends for him immediately, takes him into his own Houſe, aſſigns him a handſome Apartment, uſes him with all imaginable Reſpect, but affords him no Sort of Liberty. If, at his Requeſt, the Father permits him to ſee the Town, it is altogether in his Company; and the *Indians*, having previous Notice, ſhut up their Gates and their Windows, and keep as cloſe as if they were afraid the Sight of a Stranger would give them the Plague. As ſoon as an Occaſion offers for his embarking at *Buenos Ayres*, he is ſent thither under the Guard of a Detachment of *Indians*, not one of whom can ſpeak a Syllable of any *European* Language: ſo that it is ſimply impoſſible he ſhould carry over with him any more than

than a ſuperficial Account of the State of the Miſſion, ſuch as this is; nor is every Traveller able to carry over ſo much, ſince his Lights muſt depend upon the Humour of the Father, in whoſe Territory, or rather under whoſe Cuſtody he lives; ſome being much more auſtere than others. The Jeſuit, with whom I ſojourned, was a Native of *Toledo*, a Man ſeemingly of a frank Diſpoſition in all Things of which he accounted it lawful to ſpeak freely; yet, in all Matters relating to the Miſſion, he was ſilent as the Grave, and, except himſelf, I ſaw no Perſon during my Stay in the Country, with whom I could exchange ſo much as a ſingle Word. The *Indians*, though of themſelves gentle and courteous, yet, in conſequence of the Father's Inſtructions, are ſhy of ſo much as looking on an *European*, tho' they know not a Syllable that he ſays.

It is certain that in theſe Countries there are many, and thoſe very rich Mines both of Gold and Silver, that there are beſides abundance of valuable Commodities, eſpecially the Herb of *Paraguay*: ſo that if this was as much under the King of *Spain*'s Dominion as the reſt of his Provinces in *America*, it would yield him a very fair Revenue. As it is, he draws very little, if any thing, from it; nor are Things like to be in a better Condition. The Fathers ought, indeed, to pay him a Piece of Eight for every Head under their

their Juriſdiction; which Capitation-Tax, though ſmall in itſelf, would however produce a very large Sum. But they have found two Ways to elude this; firſt, by making a very conſiderable Preſent to the Governor of *Buenos Ayres*, they hinder him from viſiting the Miſſion as he ought to do, once in five Years, which affords them an Opportunity of fixing the Tax at a Third of what it ought to be; and even this they take Care not to pay; for, being obliged ſometimes to furniſh Detachments for the King's Service, during which Time they receive Pay, they prevail on the Governors to certify theſe Detachments to be thrice as numerous as they are, and ſo balance the Account. Alas! what can be expected in a Country where the King can neither rely on the Honour of his Officers, nor on the Faith of his Prieſts!

*FINIS.*

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

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